National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

VIETNAMESE REFUGEES IN ALBERTA: SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

by

J. RANDAL MONTGOMERY

©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 1992

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-77322-7

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: J. Randal Montgomery

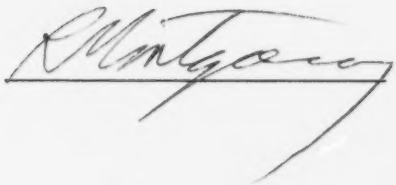
TITLE OF THESES: VIETNAMESE REFUGEES IN ALBERTA:
SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1992

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.



6432 Balmoral Avenue
Niagara Falls, Ontario
L2E 3A9

15 Sept., 1992

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled VIETNAMESE REFUGEES IN ALBERTA: SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ADAPTATION submitted by J. RANDAL MONTGOMERY in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

P. Krishnan

C. Hobart

G. Jarvis

P. Saram

B. Sinha

P. Chimbos

14 August, 1992.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Gail Bell, the most incredible creature I ever had the luck to meet.

ABSTRACT

A representative although not randomly selected sample of 537 Vietnamese refugees who had arrived in Alberta 1979-83 was studied. The respondents' adaptation to life in Alberta was measured via a pretested questionnaire containing over 250 direct questions and interviewer ratings. This instrument was administered face-to-face by a team of Vietnamese and Chinese speaking interviewers, carefully trained by the researcher, over a period of twenty weeks ending in the Spring of 1984.

The raw data analysis began with a factor analysis which revealed three distinct components of adaptation for analysis: economic (including financial and labour force), socio-cultural, and subjective measures of satisfaction. Factor scores were used to derive the three scales corresponding to the components.

Stepwise multiple regression was the method used for the final analysis. In addition to the "independent" variables from the questionnaire, 18 bi-variate interaction terms were constructed by simple multiplication of selected independent variables. Dummy variables were used for nominal (categorical) scaled variables. The regression revealed that different variables and different permutations (rank order) predicted each of the three dependent scales.

Specifically, economic adaptation was best predicted by length of residence in the host country, followed by sex, education level, interaction of education and ethnicity, marital status, and interaction of sex and marital status.

Socio-cultural adaptation was predicted (in descending order) by education, age, length of residence, interaction of sex and marital status, interaction of English language progress and sex, and extent of trauma experienced in leaving the country of origin.

Subjective adaptation was predicted (in descending order) by size of current municipality of residence, marital status, interaction of sex and marital status, interaction of exit trauma and age, interaction of ethnic social network participation and age, ethnic social network participation, and the interaction of English progress and education.

Sixteen hypotheses were tested via the regression analysis. Seven of the hypotheses dealt with subjective adaptation, of which only two were supported and one was partly sustained. Five of the hypotheses dealt with socio-cultural adaptation, of which only two were sustained. Four of the hypotheses dealt with economic adaptation, of which one was supported and one was partly upheld.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter #	Title	Pages
LIST OF TABLES		follows this table of contents
1	INTRODUCTION	1 - 18
	Introduction	1
1.1	The Genesis of the Boat People	2
1.2	Canadian Reaction to the Plight of the Boat People	8
1.3	The Refugee Policy Debate in Canada	10
1.4	Background to the Research: the Alberta Context	13
1.5	The Research Problem, and Goals of the Study	15
	Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis	16
	Endnotes	17 - 18
2.	LITERATURE REVIEW	19 - 98
	Introduction	19
2.1	Theories of Adaptation	20
2.2	Concepts Chosen for the Present Study	31
2.3	Literature on Employment	34
2.4	Literature on Occupational Mobility	47
2.5	Effect of Ethnic Networks on Occupational Adaptation	52
2.5(a)	Effect of Ethnic Ghettos on Occupational Adaptation	56
2.6	Effect of Gender on Employment Rates and Occupational Mobility	59

2.7 Effect of English Fluency on Employment Rates and Occupational Mobility 60
2.8 Effect of Education on Employment Rates and Occupational Mobility 63
2.9 Effect of Sponsorship on Employment Rates and Occupational Mobility 65
2.10 Literature on Subjective Adaptation 66
2.11 Effect of Age on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 70
2.12 Effect of Municipal Size on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 71
2.13 Effect of Ethnicity on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 71
2.14 Effect of Ethnic Network on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 73
2.15 Effect of Gender on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 77
2.16 Effect of English Skill on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 80
2.17 Effect of Education on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 82
2.18 Effect of Sponsorship on Subjective Aspects of Adaptation 84
2.19 Summary of Main Findings of Literature Review 85
2.20 Formal Hypotheses 86
Conclusion 98
Endnotes 98

3.		METHODOLOGY	99 - 133
		Introduction	99
	3.1	The Instrument	99
	3.2	The Staff	100
	3.3	Sample Size	101
	3.4	Sample Sources and Data Collection	104
	3.5	Sample Representativeness	108
	3.6	Special Coding	112
	3.7	Data Processing	114
	3.8	Introduction to Analysis Methodology	115
	3.9	The Predictor Variables	116
	3.10	The Dependent Variables	121
	3.11	Factor Analysis	122
	3.11(a)	Factor Analysis Results	127
	3.12	Creation of Dependent Scales from Factor Analysis	130
	3.13	Regression Methodology	131
		Conclusion	133
		Endnotes	133
4.		FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	134 - 177
		Introduction	134
	4.1	Options Selected for the Multiple Regression	135
	4.2	Basic Regression Results	136
	4.3	Results of the Hypotheses Testing	144
	4.4	Discussion of Hypotheses Testing	149
		Conclusion	177

5.		CONCLUSION	178 - 197
		Introduction	178
	5.1	Summary of Methodology	178
	5.2	Comments of Results of Hypotheses Testing, and Effect on Previous Research and Theories	179
	5.3	Prospects for the Future of the Vietnamese in Canada	184
	5.4	Recommendations for Future Research	191
		Conclusion	196
		Endnotes	197
		BIBLIOGRAPHY	198-214
APPENDIX		Questionnaire	215 - 278

LIST OF TABLES

Table #	Title	Page
1	Comparison of Sample and Universe on Demographic Attributes	110-111
2	Revised (Final) List of Independent (Predictor) Variables	119
3	Interactions Chosen for Entry into Regression Analysis	121
4	Factor Analysis Results (Rotated)	126
5	Stepwise Multiple Regression Results: Subjective Adaptation	138-139
6	Stepwise Multiple Regression Results: Socio-Cultural Adaptation	140-141
7	Stepwise Multiple Regression Results: Economic Adaptation	142-143
8	Summary of Results of Hypotheses Testing	148
9	Stepwise Regression for Length of Residence Groups: Significant Predictors of Subjective Adaptation	165
10	Stepwise Regression for Length of Residence Groups: Significant Predictors of Socio-Cultural Adaptation	166
11	Stepwise Regression for Length of Residence Groups: Significant Predictors of Economic Adaptation	168

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The research question this thesis investigates is the adaptation to life in Canada of a large group of Vietnamese refugees who arrived in Alberta, mainly during the period 1979 - 83. This first chapter describes the inspiration for this thesis, including background information on the refugees, the immigration policy debate in Canada, the problems the refugees were alleged to be experiencing in their new environment, the concerns of settlement officials, and the methodological goals of this study.

Before proceeding, a prefatory remark is necessary. Value judgments are to be avoided in science, but are inevitable in a study of refugees, because the word itself means different things to different people. Some Canadians think of refugees as persecuted minorities or heroic political activists, while others call them "freeloaders" who "are just here for a big house and car, and to rip off the welfare system." To investigate the adaptation or adjustment of refugees suggests that the researcher is motivated either to help refugees (and encourage more to arrive) or, 2contrarily, to seek justifications for discouraging their influx. In this study, however, the author was simply curious. Nevertheless

some value judgments may appear, and the author must take full responsibility.

1.1 The genesis of the Boat People

This first section provides some background information on the origin and general characteristics of the Boat People (the popular term for Vietnamese refugees). The various motives for the exodus from Viet Nam are explained. Except where specific sources are cited, the following is a paraphrasing of what was reported in newspapers, radio and television reports of that era, and what has subsequently appeared in television documentaries, printed material, conversations between the author and federal officials, and speeches made by United Nations representatives during the 1980's. The author has also relied to a minor extent on a 1984 cinema film entitled The Boat People.

In 1975 the first mass exodus of Vietnamese citizens from their homeland occurred, in reaction to the communist victory in the civil war which had raged since 1954. The exodus was not a simple case of the new regime chasing people from the losing side out of the country. There was no threat of mass genocidal revenge as occurred in Cambodia under Pol Pot. Nor were the emigrants being deported or banished. The emigrants' main motives for leaving will be outlined in the following paragraphs.

During the Viet Nam civil war the USA propped up the corrupt and militarily weak South Vietnamese government against the communist Viet Minh forces of Ho Chi Minh in North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong guerrillas who supported him in the South. The Viet Minh were in receipt of assistance from Russia, and they tried to pass some of the military supplies to their Viet Cong allies in the South. Although communist China shares a border with Viet Nam, China provided no assistance to the North Vietnamese forces or the Viet Cong. In fact there was and there remains a long history of animosity between Viet Nam and China, including a brief war in 1978. Moreover in Viet Nam the ethnic Chinese had tended to be the entrepreneurs, and were disdained by the Viet Minh and Viet Cong as counter-revolutionary capitalists. In the south of Viet Nam, ironically, the ethnic Chinese were suspected of being communist sympathizers simply because the Peoples' Republic of China was a communist country. Hence there was suspicion of the ethnic Chinese in Viet Nam, on the part of both the communist and capitalist ethnic Vietnamese.

Following the victory of the communists in 1975, the new government began expropriating property in the South that had been owned by the entrepreneurs. State controlled communes were set up to replace private enterprises. Persons who had previously been employers faced the prospect of becoming poorly paid workers at

best. Many citizens thus lost their motivation to remain in Viet Nam.

The communist regime also established "new economic zones" which functioned not so much to develop new industry as to relocate urbanites into the countryside, and to concentrate suspected dissidents and "class enemies" into places where they could be controlled and "re-educated". Life in the zones was harsh, and involved spartan communal accommodation, long days of agricultural labour, subjection to intense propaganda, and the clearing of land mines by hand, with the inevitable high casualty rate. Persons who were assigned to such zones knew they might not be released for years, if ever. The ethnic Chinese, for reasons mentioned above, were more likely to suffer from these programs and policies than were the ethnic Vietnamese. Obviously even those ethnic Vietnamese who were not communist sympathizers feared drastically reduced circumstances and a totalitarian lifestyle.

The sudden and dramatic departure of the US forces from Saigon, the capital city of what was South Viet Nam, must have been a genuine shock for the residents. For years the Americans (and prior to that the French) had spent money there and no doubt many business people, from tavern owners to prostitutes, rickshaw drivers to heroin dealers, had literally been banking on the USA and expected the situation to endure. The US presence also represented security against the enemy in the north, so the

cataclysmic retreat of the US forces must have been a traumatic experience. These factors may account for the urgency with which Saigon residents (and others who had fled to Saigon from the countryside as it fell under communist control) tried to leave with the US forces.

Television and film coverage of the event from Saigon showed mobs of local people so desperate that they stormed obstacles and forced their way to places where US helicopters were evacuating US personnel. As the helicopters were taking off, the desperate Vietnamese jumped up to their skids in such numbers that the helicopters crashed. Other desperate Vietnamese rowed out to US aircraft carriers and tried to climb aboard with or without assistance from the navy crews. These events were the precursors for the emigration of the Boat People, which began as soon as the Americans had left, peaked in 1979, and continues today. In addition to all the reasons for emigration cited above, another reason which still prompts Vietnamese to leave their country is the fact that its economy has gradually sunk to the point of desperation. The Vietnamese economy had never reached the industrialized stage of development, and the trade embargo placed on Viet Nam by the USA crippled any potential progress after 1975. The collapse of the USSR circa 1990 also accelerated this trend, as during the 1970's and '80's the USSR had subsidized Viet Nam. Put

simply and brutally, Viet Nam is a very poor country with no immediate prospect of recovery.

In addition to these various "push" factors, the emigrants have been "pulled" by expectations of democracy and higher standards of living in the West. Doubtless many had been dazzled by the wealth that the US forces had exhibited in everything from soldiers' rations to expensive hardware and vehicles.

So it was that between 1975 and 1980, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese citizens took to sea or began overland treks toward neighbouring countries.[1] The main inland destination was Thailand (although a minority of arrivals there came by sea), since Laos and Cambodia were themselves experiencing an exodus of citizenry.[2] An unknown proportion of those who chose to flee by sea rather than overland did not survive the journey. Boats sank, either from leaks, storms, overloading, hull punctures from attacks from communist soldiers on shore, or punctures from pirates who attacked on the "high seas". Amateur captains got lost and the passengers and crew gradually starved or died from dehydration. Old people and the ill died from exhaustion or lack of medical care. Pirates attacked and killed some of their victims. (Others were raped or maimed or drowned in the melee. Many choked to death swallowing their gold in an attempt to keep it from the pirates.) Malaysian navy vessels towed refugee boats back out to sea or fired "warning shots" at them. Some refugees who had chartered large ships died

from the squalid conditions on the ships during the months when the captains were refused permission by Malaysia or Indonesia to disgorge the passengers.

Despite these risks, the emigration continued. While soldiers on the shore attempted to prevent some boats from leaving, the communist regime did not appear to make a concerted attempt to prevent these departures nor to chase after the escapees. It has been speculated that the new regime thought that those who were leaving (e.g. Sino-Vietnamese business owners) would have been more of a problem than a benefit to the new regime, and that the unemployment problem was to some extent taking care of itself. It was also reported in the news media that since many of the refugees paid organizers and/or captains a fee, bribes had been paid to officials to ensure a safe departure. Ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs in Hong Kong, Singapore and Saigon apparently developed lucrative human smuggling operations.[3]

Those Vietnamese who fled, by sea or overland, and who succeeded in reaching their countries of immediate destination were placed in camps pending resettlement in countries of second asylum. While these camps were envisaged at the time as temporary in nature, they have tended (except for Malaysia and Indonesia) to become permanent abodes for a large percentage of refugees. A large (and varying) percentage of the annual arrivals in Hong Kong have not succeeded in getting any further than the 11 camps there. In

1982 the Hong Kong government turned the camps from "open" ones into concentration camps, in hopes of deterring future arrivals.

In mid 1988, Hong Kong announced that it would no longer treat every arrival as a genuine refugee, but would commence screening arrivals to distinguish between economic migrants and refugees with a well-founded fear of persecution as defined in the United Nations' Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Persons who do not fit the definition are not eligible for resettlement in Hong Kong or Western democracies and are subject to forced removal to Viet Nam. In Dec. 1988 an agreement regarding repatriation was reached between the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the government of Viet Nam, including a term that returnees would not be subject to retribution. By the early 1990's only a small number of economic migrants had been deported to Viet Nam from Hong Kong, due to international criticism, camp protest riots and appeals by the internees, including threats of mass suicide.[4]

1.2 Canadian reaction to the plight of the Boat People

International interest in the Boat People gradually subsided as other news, including new refugee crises in other parts of the world, caught the media's attention. However back in 1979 when the exodus from Viet Nam peaked there was an international expression of concern. The event made for dramatic news and did receive

considerable publicity. The tens of thousand of arrivals at countries of first asylum prompted the involvement of the UNHCR. The concrete result of the news media coverage and the UNHCR appeals was that several nations offered assistance.

The government of Canada, in consultation with the provinces, used subsection 6(2) of the Immigration Act, 1976 to designate the Indochinese as a Designated Class of immigrants, certain numbers of whom would be admitted under relaxed admission criteria. Thus the Vietnamese were not Convention Refugees as defined in section 2 of the aforementioned Act, but were one of several Humanitarian and Special Movement classes established to respond quickly to crises. To conform to the sponsorship requirements of the Act, the Vietnamese were sponsored either by the federal government itself, or by Canadian families, religious or ethnic associations under new regulations allowing five or more Canadians to sponsor a south east Asian refugee. 60,000 refugees were brought to Canada during the 1979-80 crisis.[5] The Canadian government sponsored 26,000 of those refugees while private sponsors (churches, groups of five or more individuals, families, charitable organizations) assisted 34,000.

Canada has earned a respected international reputation for providing permanent asylum to refugees. In 1986 Canada's exemplary treatment of refugees and its reputation as a refugee haven were acknowledged by the UNHCR by that office awarding the prestigious Nansen medal to the Canadian government and people. The expression

"Canada's humanitarian tradition" even appears in subsection 6(2) of Canada's Immigration Act, R.S.C. 1985, chapter I-2, as amended by R.S.C. 1985, 4th Supp., chapter 28. By 1986, Canada had accepted over 400,000 refugees since the end of World War II.[6] Although 60,000 Vietnamese refugees is a large number for Canada, and may represent a relatively high number per capita, it is very small compared to the total situation. It is commonly held that during 1979 the monthly exodus from Viet Nam was about 50,000 persons. In Oct. 1983 there were ten million refugees worldwide.[7]

1.3 The refugee policy debate in Canada

While the original cohort of Boat People was enthusiastically received across Canada circa 1979-80, the early 1980's saw the development of a major public controversy concerning Canada's refugee admission policy. Sometimes this debate is referred to as the "refugee backlash", but in fact refugee admission policy had been under continuous critical review by the federal government and the immigration bar since the early 1970's. By the mid 1980's the concern had escalated into a major and ongoing political issue as a result of the sudden and dramatic air and sea arrival of Tamils, Sikhs, Iranians, and Hondurans, and the deportation of a large group of Turkish refugee claimants.

In the late 1980's these events precipitated major and controversial revisions to the Immigration Act, 1976 (the

predecessor to the present statute), in the form of Bills C-55 and C-84. The daily publicity also culminated in a "crackdown" on pseudo refugee claims via the Refugee Backlog Regulations. A further crackdown was promised in mid 1992 when Bill C-86 received first reading, with an intended promulgation date of January 1993.

As indicated above, the general public has been unusually interested and vociferous regarding Canada's refugee and general immigration policies. The controversy in and outside of Parliament regarding Bill C-86 has focussed the arguments into two sides, and it is only a slight oversimplification to describe the debate as "closed versus open door" or "conservative versus liberal".

On the one side, labour unions, some conservatives, and white racists have argued that Third World in-migrants (be they refugees or admitted under other immigration classes) displace Canadians from the labour market by competing with unemployed Canadians for jobs. The argument is also made that Third World in-migrants lower wages and working conditions by their willingness to work for lower wages and under poor conditions. (Similarly, newcomers have been accused of being prone to working as "scabs" rather than as unionized employees, and thereby weakening the union movement.)

The more ethnocentric and established among this group of critics also complain that in-migrants do not integrate into Canadian culture, and will erode established values and Western institutions. Faced with the inevitability of some immigration,

people from this group of critics advocate a policy of assimilation rather than multiculturalism.

The other side of the debate is vocalized by immigration lawyers, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, ethnic lobby groups, religious organizations, humanitarians, liberals (including members of the Liberal Party), leftists not tied to unions, and pro-business conservatives. Some members of this loose coalition advocate increased immigration levels on the grounds that a larger population increases markets for domestic suppliers as well as inviting foreign investment, lowers commodities and services costs due to economies of scale, and increases the tax base. These advocates are supported by those who add that refugee admission criteria should be relaxed for compassionate reasons.

These speakers reject the arguments about newcomers putting Canadians out of work. Instead, it is argued that newcomers create new businesses, or perform the non-unionized and/or low status jobs that established Canadians eschew, thereby increasing the productivity and competitiveness of Canadian business. Advocates of increased immigration agree with their opponents that the policy of multiculturalism encourages newcomers to retain their culture, but say that this is a laudable objective. Across Canada, pro- and anti-refugee statements made in the debate on immigration policy have reflected suppositions and assumptions more than facts.

1.4 Background to the research: the Alberta context

Approximately 7,500 of the Boat People arrived in Alberta as part of a federal government Special Movement during 1979-1980.[8] As the newcomers settled in Alberta they began to sponsor relatives or arrange for immediate family to join them as of right, such that by April 1984 there were about 15,000 Vietnamese ex-patriots in Alberta.[9] About 90% of the Vietnamese had come via the Special Movement while about 10% came from subsequent family reunification or sponsorship of relatives.

During the 1970's, Alberta had enjoyed a flourishing economy based largely on high oil prices, in contrast to an economic recession which followed in the 1980's. The bulk of the Boat People arrived during this economic changeover period from "boom" to "bust". Rough estimates of the unemployment rate of the Vietnamese in Alberta were as high as 45% during early 1984.[10]

The media reporters, perhaps motivated by sensational- ism or by an over-reactive concern about isolated incidents, also carried stories about cultural and psychological maladjustment. In particular, the Edmonton Journal (16 Aug. 1983) carried a story about three Vietnamese doctors whose qualifications were unrecognized in Canada. The Economist (23 May 1983) told of parents beating children. The Ottawa Citizen (16 Nov. 1982) and Montreal Gazette (10 Feb. 1982) described wife beating. According to the Edmonton Journal (27 Feb. 1984), Vietnamese wives in Canada

suffered not only from beatings by unemployed husbands, but also from alienation. A sociologist was quoted in the Montreal Gazette (10 Feb. 1982) warning about alienation symptoms among the Boat People in their new environment. The Edmonton Journal (27 Feb. 1984) published an interview with a Vietnamese psychiatrist who claimed the refugees were suffering from depression. Mental disorders were highlighted in the Ottawa Citizen on 16 Nov. 1981, with two Asian psychiatrists citing rates of around ten percent.

Federal and Alberta settlement officials and their counterparts in volunteer agencies were also concerned about the minimal progress apparently being made by the Vietnamese in the learning of the English language. The officials lacked empirical evidence on which to assess and revise their policies and plans, however.

1.5 The research problem, and goals of the study

Until very recently, sufficient valid and reliable information did not exist for an informed debate on Canada's refugee policy, and for effective planning of settlement services in Alberta. Scientific information on the impact of Third World in-migrants on Canada, and on how Third World in-migrants have adapted to Canada, was lacking. While much is known of the harsh conditions which motivate refugees to leave their homelands, little is known about the fate of these people after they reach their destinations in the Western World. Stated simply, the question this thesis addresses is "How do Third World refugees adapt to life in the West?"

This thesis focusses on what happened to those Vietnamese refugees who managed to escape to Alberta, landing at Edmonton International Airport after a stay in one of the refugee camps in south east Asia (usually Hong Kong). A scientific survey was needed to measure the extent of their adaptation and to discover which factors were significantly associated or correlated with levels of adaptation or adjustment. (The latter term is more concerned with psychological and subjective aspects, and implies an ideal type, hence the less value laden term "adaptation" is preferred in this study.) Similarly there was a need to empirically test specific hypotheses about refugee adaptation.

suffered not only from beatings by unemployed husbands, but also from alienation. A sociologist was quoted in the Montreal Gazette (10 Feb. 1982) warning about alienation symptoms among the Boat People in their new environment. The Edmonton Journal (27 Feb. 1984) published an interview with a Vietnamese psychiatrist who claimed the refugees were suffering from depression. Mental disorders were highlighted in the Ottawa Citizen on 16 Nov. 1981, with two Asian psychiatrists citing rates of around ten percent.

Federal and Alberta settlement officials and their counterparts in volunteer agencies were also concerned about the minimal progress apparently being made by the Vietnamese in the learning of the English language. The officials lacked empirical evidence on which to assess and revise their policies and plans, however.

1.5 The research problem, and goals of the study

Until very recently, sufficient valid and reliable information did not exist for an informed debate on Canada's refugee policy, and for effective planning of settlement services in Alberta. Scientific information on the impact of Third World in-migrants on Canada, and on how Third World in-migrants have adapted to Canada, was lacking. While much is known of the harsh conditions which motivate refugees to leave their homelands, little is known about the fate of these people after they reach their destinations in the Western World. Stated simply, the question this thesis addresses is "How do Third World refugees adapt to life in the West?"

This thesis focusses on what happened to those Vietnamese refugees who managed to escape to Alberta, landing at Edmonton International Airport after a stay in one of the refugee camps in south east Asia (usually Hong Kong). A scientific survey was needed to measure the extent of their adaptation and to discover which factors were significantly associated or correlated with levels of adaptation or adjustment. (The latter term is more concerned with psychological and subjective aspects, and implies an ideal type, hence the less value laden term "adaptation" is preferred in this study.) Similarly there was a need to empirically test specific hypotheses about refugee adaptation.

Late in 1982, when the study was in the planning stage, there was no knowledge of what constructs should be used, or what hypotheses tested, so the then sparse literature on refugee adjustment and adaptation was read. Suggestions were made to the investigator by interested parties including academics, heads of local immigrant aid organizations, Alberta government bureaucrats, and staff members of the local Settlement Services Branch of the Canada Immigration Commission. The existing literature suggested salient predictor and dependent variables. The author was faced with the dual task of choosing suitable variables to measure adaptation (the dependent concept) and choosing variables which the literature suggested would accurately predict adaptation.

Overall, the study has several objectives: To derive suitable hypotheses, to construct suitable dependent measures of refugee adaptation, to choose appropriate predictor variables, to incorporate the variables into an effective instrument, to design a survey which would be as scientific as possible (i.e. representative sample) within practical constraints, to conduct the survey in a professional and efficient manner, and finally to analyze the relationship(s) between variables by means of an appropriate method.

Organization of the remainder of thesis

The relevant sociological literature, both theoretical and empirical, is reviewed in the next chapter, which culminates in a list of the hypotheses derived from the literature and other sources. Chapter three explains the survey methodology and the data analysis methodology. The empirical results of the hypotheses testing and a discussion of those findings and comparison with previous research are presented chapter four. The final chapter consists of a summary of the methodology and of the key findings, general comments on the results of the hypotheses testing, implications and recommendations for settlement planners and counsellors, and for future research. Also provided in chapter five are data and qualitative forecasts regarding socioeconomic mobility and future prospects of the Boat People in Canada.

ENDNOTES

1. According to Grant (1979: 80) over 292,300 Vietnamese who left Viet Nam by boat between 1975 and mid-1797 reached their immediate destinations. Estimates of the proportion of Boat People who died at sea range from 10% to 50%, with most consensus being around 15-25%.

2. The United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that during the 1980's there were 350,000 Cambodian refugees in Thailand: Reuters news release appearing in the Globe and Mail newspaper, 5 Aug. 1992.

3. The evidence for this is summarized in Adelman (1982: 21-22).

4. Arrivals to Hong Kong were a few thousand per annum during 1983-87, but in 1988 over 19,000 Vietnamese Boat People arrived. These figures derive from Refugees magazine (a publication of the UNHCR), Feb. 1989, p. 20. According to a news release from Reuters and the Associated Press, appearing in the Globe and Mail newspaper 5 Aug. 1992, there were over 50,000 Vietnamese refugees still in Hong Kong, and some deportees had to be forced onto aircraft. The Hong Kong government hopes to empty the camps by 1995.

5. This is a commonly accepted figure and it appears in the booklet "Sponsoring Refugees", Ottawa: Supply & Services Canada, 1984.

6. "Sponsoring Refugees". Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1986. (pamphlet)

7. Yearbook of the United Nations. New York: United Nations, 1984

8. This figure derives from federal government statistics the author had access to during his 1982-84 stint as a Research Officer for the Alberta government. For comparisons with other provinces see chapter six of Adelman (1982). Prof. Adelman notes that although Alberta's share of Vietnamese sponsorees is small compared to Ontario and Quebec, and is about the same as for British Columbia, Alberta had 1/12 of the Canadian population but was responsible for 1/8 of the refugees.

9. This estimate was made by the author based on various databases he had access to as part of his duties as a demographer for the Alberta government.

10. These estimates derived from sources such as Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC), in particular a Mr. Brian Bell, and from the Alberta news media.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND HYPOTHESES

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review theories regarding adaptation and related concepts, to review empirical studies of refugee adaptation in the West, and finally to induce testable research hypotheses.

It may be noted in the following that for consistency the word "adaptation" is favoured, but occasionally the discussion refers to "adjustment". As will become apparent, many social scientists use these words synonymously, while others use "adjustment" in a psychological, self-perceived or subjective sense. Presumably this latter usage can be contrasted to "adaptation" which would be considered more of a sociological term roughly synonymous with "acculturation", "social integration" or (for some scholars) "assimilation". Where the findings of psychologists or other scholars who focussed on subjective aspects are referred to, and it might be a distortion of their work to use "adaptation", the word "adjustment" is retained. Occasionally, "adjustment" is used for stylistic purposes when the word "adaptation" would otherwise appear too often in one sentence, or is used to connote a general sense as opposed to the technical sense associated with empirical measures.

Until about 1985, the large body of survey data and theoretical literature on the adaptation of newcomers to North America concerned immigrants who had been admitted under normal bureaucratic channels in a relatively orderly manner, and who emigrated from Europe or Britain. At the time the present survey was conducted in late 1983 and early 1984, few studies of refugee adaptation existed, so it was necessary at that time to rely largely on the traditional literature. In the nearly ten years since then, many studies of South East Asian (hereinafter "SEA") refugees have been published and are reviewed in this chapter.

2.1 Theories of Adaptation

The following review of theory focusses on definitions and terminology, in the context of immigrant and refugee adaptation to Western societies.

An examination of a cross-section of sociological publications dealing with race and ethnic relations reveals that there is no consistent usage of the terms "integration" and "assimilation". (There was at least a consensus that "amalgamation" is the result of intermarriage and miscegenation). The standard source of definitions of assimilation is Gordon (1964), who lists seven types, namely, cultural, structural, intermarriage, identificational, attitudinal, behavioural and civic. The first type, also known as acculturation, is defined as the blending or

fusion of cultural aspects that occurs when two or more cultures come into contact. It is submitted that this definition is tautological unless what is meant by "fusion" and "blending" is specified. The second type, "structural assimilation", refers to the entry of an immigrant group's members into the associations of the dominant group. This is also known as social assimilation. The typology begins to disintegrate at the third stage, where intermarriage is claimed to be a third type of assimilation. It is submitted that intermarriage is a particular kind of structural assimilation (into the family institution) and should not be a discrete category (unless what is being attempted is a taxonomy rather than a typology).

Gordon's fourth type of assimilation, "identificational", seems to stem from a different concept --the immigrant's mental reaction-- than the first three types, and thus does not belong in the same classification scheme. The fifth, sixth and seventh types seem to refer to yet another focus -- the host society's reaction. It would appear that the only uncontentious part of Gordon's typology is the distinction between cultural and social assimilation, but a clear (i.e. non-overlapping) distinction between culture and society has eluded most sociologists and anthropologists. In fact a heuristic example of what can occur when someone attempts to treat the typology seriously is the following excerpt from Alba (1978):

> Following Gordon (1964), a distinction is usually made between two different kinds of assimilation: acculturation, the acquisition of the 'majority' culture; and social or structural assimilation, the acquisition of primary relationships, including intermarriage ... The distinction is necessary because it appears that acculturation can occur without social assimilation. Thus, the acquisition of many America cultural patterns by ... groups in America is not evidence of their complete assimilation.
>
> But the independence of acculturation and social assimilation is asymmetric, for social assimilation cannot occur without acculturation....Thus, acculturation is a necessary antecedent and possible consequence of social assimilation.
>
> (Alba, 1978: 3-4)

Later in the same paper, at p. 15 Alba provides a discussion of exogamy in the context of social assimilation indicates the weakness of Gordon's (1964) separation of structural assimilation and intermarriage.

Spencer (1976) defines assimilation as the process by which a group integrates into the culture around it, giving up its distinctive lifestyle and eventually losing its unique identity as a community. However, Spencer (1976: 274) adds, "It might contribute some aspects of its own original culture to the larger pattern." This latter definition would be clear were it not for its use of "integration", which was not well defined previously, and furthermore seems to be used in a very different sense than previously defined. Generally, then, Spencer's definitions are confusing and contain contradictions. One fails to discern a substantial difference between integration and assimilation, especially since the latter appears to be a likely result of the

former. That is, ethnic groups appear in the definition of integration, but a given ethnic group has disappeared into the host culture when assimilation is complete. It appears that there is a confusion between the "Melting Pot" and "Ethnic Mosaic" concepts.

Unwittingly adding to this confusion, Finnan (1983) defines assimilation in a way that conforms to others' definition of integration. Finnan takes a slightly more "social psychological" approach also reminiscent of the Berger and Luckmann (1966) sociology of knowledge orientation when she says:

> Refugee assimilation can be seen as a process of creating an order appropriate to the new environment while remaining sensitive to the order which prevailed in their home country. The process of creating and maintaining order is continual. Both the environment and the person constantly change and order is created. Each refugee must make his or her own adjustments, but the refugee community shapes each member's new social ordering. Order is not always possible; refugees frequently become frustrated because their new world seems chaotic... Occupational assimilation is part of this cognitive process. Refugees make sense of their occupational world and find a place for themselves in it.
>
> (Finnan, 1983: 307)

Another social scientist criticized the trend in Sociology to narrow the concept of assimilation, and took a particular exception to the definition found in the Dictionary of Social Science:

> This essay contends that it is more rewarding to regard assimilation as a process of great generality, one whereby cultural differences are reduced, and to pair it with the opposing process of differentiation, whereby cultural differences are increased. It sees both processes as resulting from choices of individuals when faced with alternatives generated by social structures and situations...
>
> The concept of a uniform process of change is

> misleading, as is the failure to acknowledge that the receiving group undergoes change in absorbing the other... In cuisine, change is more evenly balanced and more rapid, each group adopting some of the dishes favoured by the other...the minority changes in the direction of the majority, but sometimes it is the other way round... Minorities bring dances, costumes, sports, which, like football, may soon lose their ethnic identification...
>
> It is now widely accepted that a conception of assimilation as a unitary process is misleading... The adoption by immigrants of majority practices may give an appearance of change but underlying values may not have altered. Moreover, the majority society itself is divided by socioeconomic status, regions, life styles, and perhaps by ethnicity. Social life... may be compartmentalized so it becomes difficult to identify the group or practices in the majority society to which the minority may be expected to assimilate. It is customary to ask to what extent a minority is assimilated, but the question can also be asked of the majority... Ethnic identities are not... programmed into individuals, but have continually to be established from the actions of people...
>
> (Banton, 1983: 33-35)

The present author agrees with Banton that assimilation is a multi-facetted process wherein the immigrant culture adopts increasingly more of the host society's culture and wherein the dominant culture absorbs some of the minority group's culture. Thus the questionnaire for this survey includes many diverse questions on culture (e.g. relating to food, entertainment, shopping, and socializing).

Porter (1965) believed that instead of an homogenization process over time, in Canada there is a preservation of immigrant cultures which perpetuates ethnic differences in socioeconomic status. Between 1931 and 1961 the differences in ethnic group

representation in the professional and financial occupations persisted. In other occupational categories inequalities in ethnic group representation were reduced over the three decades. Likewise the large majority of the ethnic groups were gradually reducing their over-representation in the lower categories. (For Europeans, the change was dramatic over thirty years.) The overall tendency for British and Jewish groups to dominate the upper categories and for aboriginals, Italians and French to dominate the lower categories remained, however. A survey of all the studies which have attempted to confirm or refute the Porter thesis, and a critique of Porter, would take the present review of terminology too far afield.

Canadian sociologists have tended to reserve the term "multiculturalism" for public policy contexts, and to use the term integration for their research and theoretic analyses.

Integration is defined by a contemporary Canadian sociologist (Spencer, 1976) as the full, joint participation of several ethnic groups in the same activities. Instead of clear cut memberships, the integrated ethnic communities have weak boundaries and many marginal members. Each community has an ecumenical spirit, sharing its culture with any persons who wish to participate, and adopting patterns from other cultures (Spencer, 1976: 274). It is submitted that Spencer's definition constitutes more a formulation of the Canadian concept of multiculturalism than a usable definition of

integration.

Breton, another Canadian sociologist states that the direction of the immigrant's integration:

> will to a large extent result from the forces of attraction (positive and negative) stemming from three communities: the community of his ethnicity, the native (receiving) community, and the other ethnic communities."
>
> (Breton, 1964: 193)

Charles Hobart (unpublished, n.d. at p. 7) discussed the process of integration in which the immigrant involves himself progressively more deeply in more areas of the life of the new society. Cox (1985: 71) also asserts that integration is "a constantly changing and evolving" process and never a "static, definable state". According to this dynamic perspective, both the immigrant group and the host society are changed by the association with each other, but the immigrant group does not completely lose its own cultural identity.

Integration is defined by Hobart (op. cit. at p. 7) as a "social structural concept, referring to the fusion of distinctive immigrant social structures with those of the host society".

In regard to cultural integration or "acculturation" as it is more commonly called, a confusion of terminology also reigns in the literature. Barer-Stein (1988), for example, uses acculturation synonymously with culture adaptation, intercultural adjustment, and cultural accommodation. Hobart's definition of acculturation jibes with Gordon's conceptualization of the blending or fusion of

immigrant and host cultures. (Hobart, like most other scholars in the area, regards assimilation from a Melting Pot perspective, i.e. the elimination of the immigrant group's unique characteristics.)

In a paper entitled "Explorations of Acculturation: Toward a Model of Ethnic Identity", Clark et al. (1976) conceptually combined the "classic" conception of acculturation with the newer "ethnic identity" one (alluded to by Banton in the 1983 quotation above), and by empirical measurements of three generations of two ethnic groups in San Francisco, claimed to "reveal the influence of individual choice in the expression of ethnic identity" (1976, at p. 231). The final paragraph of their paper succinctly summarizes what appears to be an important theoretical and empirical finding:

> In addition to an indicator of acculturation (Acculturation Balance Scale), we have defined and quantified two other (out of many possible) dimensions: Traditional Orientation and Anglo Face. The patterns in which these three dimensions combine - patterns we have called Ethnic Identity Profile Types - are determined by generation of residence in the United States, and personal choice, but not by the particular ethnic group to which the individual belongs.
>
> (Clark et al. 1976: 237)

Like Hobart (n.d.) and Cox (1985), and to some extent Banton (1983), Chimbos (1980), another Canadian sociologist, also defines integration as a process:

> Social integration does not necessarily mean assimilation, the loss of the individual's ethnic identity or his language and culture. It simply refers to a large degree of social and structural interaction between the ethnic minority and the rest of society.
>
> (Chimbos, 1980: 135)

Interestingly, Chimbos proceeds to distinguish cultural integration (operationalized by measuring satisfaction with Canadian life, learning the host society's language, identification with the host nation) from structural integration (operationalized by measuring friendship networks, formal organization membership, and employment). The maintenance of the immigrant's cultural heritage is treated separately.

Dreidger (1980), yet another Canadian sociologist, complicates the issue considerably. Very briefly, Dreidger posits that assimilation and amalgamation are theories which purport to explain the processes by which immigrants' ethnicity disappears into Anglo Conformity and the Melting Pot respectively. In the Melting Pot view, new cultures are not merely absorbed. Rather, the outcome for the larger society is a culture which, rather synthetically, is different from the mere sum of its parts (Park, 1950). These views can be contrasted with multivariate assimilation (Gordon, 1964) and modified pluralism (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963) which for Dreidger are theories accounting for the retention of ethnic characteristics in part or in a changed form.

Strand and Jones Jr. (1985) posit that refugees who anticipate a new and different life in the West assimilate more quickly than those who flee in haste without planning or forethought. Presumably most refugees fleeing the early stages of a civil war or invasion, the start of a famine, an earthquake or other calamity do not even

know where they will be spending the rest of their lives. Whereas refugees fleeing a relatively long term situation, e.g. political, religious or ethnic conflict, often anticipate a new culture, sometimes even over-identifying with it, those who suddenly run from catastrophe take years to come to terms psychologically with the fact that they won't be returning home in the near future. They often maintain frequent contact with relatives back home and do not identify with the new country.

The traditional models of assimilation best fit what Strand and Jones Jr. call the "political" types of refugees rather than the "involuntary migrants". They see the process as enculturation into the new culture and deculturation from the old culture. More specifically they talk of a process of socialization, development of reciprocal identification, inter-marriage and social mobility, and assimilation. In addition to discussing the traditional models, Strand and Jones Jr. also cite economic adaptation as a different model, wherein government intervention in regard to job finding and training is aimed at economic independence. An unintended series of consequences is improved language skills followed by assimilation.

Strand and Jones Jr. (1985: 131-134) then assert that a partial explanation called the "ethnic enclave model" which they think best represents the experiences of Asian Americans. Ethnic group solidarity is asserted to be the key, on the ground that enclaves provide emotional and social support to bridge the host

and Asian cultures and to develop economic self-sufficiency for Asians experiencing initial downward mobility. Ethnic group solidarity is translated into economic power as submarkets develop within the enclaves and this is a necessary precursor to economic and social progress toward assimilation in subsequent generations. Upward mobility in the new society tends to be delayed until the third generation.

The inevitable conclusion from this review is that the theory of immigrant adaptation has some way to go before reaching scientific status. Various authors define terms in whatever way they wish, contradicting each other and mixing definitions and explanations to create tautologies in a haphazard manner. Many of the foregoing quotations and paraphrases can be categorized as little more than self-indulgent pontification, wherein jargon-loaded statements substitute for the rigorous theory construction by logical induction seen in more developed areas of social science. It was therefore difficult to extract much in the way of useful concepts to guide the present study. Moreover most of the theorizing reflects one of two value-laden assumptions. U.S. theorists assume assimilation is a desirable goal whereas Canadian sociologists and political scientists generally admire the multi-cultural concept which is usually seen as more liberal and less imperialistic than the American "melting pot". For liberal and leftist Canadians, the end point of immigration is adaptation to

Canada while maintaining the original culture, and not total assimilation.

2.2 Concepts chosen for present study

In this study, the author subscribes to the notion of integration being an interactive and dynamic process, as understood by Hobart, Chimbos, Cox, Finnan (despite her use of the label "assimilation" instead of "integration") and by Strand and Jones Jr. (except for their assumption that total assimilation occurs after reciprocal identification, intermarriage and upward economic mobility). This influenced the discussion of results and the original construction of questions. For example some of the questions composed for the survey aimed at measuring not only aspects of traditional Vietnamese culture and Canadian culture and society, but, where possible, both. For example instead of simply asking about how much Vietnamese music is listened to, or how much Canadian music is listened to, a question would ask what proportion of listening time was devoted to Vietnamese music, and what proportion to Canadian. As another example, it was asked whether birthday anniversaries are celebrated, since having a birthday party is not a Vietnamese custom. However it may have been that Vietnamese guests were invited to this Canadian celebration if it was held. Thus the questions tapped not only whether certain customs were followed but to what extent they involved cultural

mingling. Of course since integration is a process the time dimension was used in the analysis as a predictor variable. Also reflecting the processual aspects of integration, some of the questions were framed "when you arrived in Canada" while others dealing with the same phenomenon were framed "now".

The findings of Strand and Jones Jr. (1985) and others who discuss the ethnic enclave (see section 2.5 below under occupational adaptation) were the impetus for several questions on this survey regarding participation in the ethnic social network.

Chimbos' (1980) bifurcated conception of cultural and structural integration influenced the choice of possible dependent variables. For example, in addition to more common indicators of acculturation such as inclination toward Canadian food, language and music, questions about satisfaction with life in Canada, and comparison to Vietnamese life, were used to measure cultural integration. Questions on exogamy (intermarriage), who is socialized with on and off work, and associations frequented are intended to tap structural integration. All of the many questions dealing with income and labour force status are also indicators of structural integration. The distinction between cultural and structural integration was used to ensure that the questionnaire was not overly biased (quantitatively) toward cultural or structural aspects of adaptation. Finally, the concept was used to assist labelling of factors in the factor analysis.

The problematic notion of assimilation can be avoided simply because 96% of the Boat People had been in Canada less than five years at the time of the survey. Thus a tendency for some respondents to seek out Canadian food or entertainment is not interpreted as assimilation, regardless of whether Vietnamese food or entertainment is abandoned or retained. (Recall that Chimbos considers retention as a separate concept. This makes practical sense given that in the present context some Vietnamese food and entertainment was not available in Canada 1983-84.) Moreover the provincial and federal government support for multiculturalism makes consideration of assimilation unnecessary unless (as appears to be the case for German-Canadians) there is an overt attempt by the incoming group to assimilate in the American "melting pot" sense.

Overall, the present study deals with adaptation or adjustment. It is worth considering that

> ...the concept of adaptation is itself not without problems. It is a multidimensional phenomenon which embraces such factors as satisfaction, identification, cognitive, linguistic and behavioural acculturation, economic performance and social integration. Adaptation, in this context, can be defined in operational terms as 'partaking in the life of the country productively (economically and socially) and to one's advantage (making use of the country's opportunities for advancement, its culture, social services and related features)'
>
> (Grygier and Ribordy, 1973: 87)

2.3 Literature on employment

Employment is a major value and minimal status requirement for persons of good health and aged between about twenty and sixty in our society. Having a job is a practical necessity beyond the level of mere subsistence on welfare or other forms of assistance from the government or private charities. Employment is possibly even more crucial for immigrants, because occupational adaptation greatly facilitates their socio-cultural adaptation.

Following is a summary of some North American and British studies of the employment rates of SEA refugees in their new environments. Estimates of the rate of unemployment among SEA immigrants in the USA ranged from a high of nearly 50% (Lin, Tazuma and Masuda, 1979) to a low of 5% (Montero, 1979).

The U.S. Interagency Task Force on Indochinese Refugees (IATF) found (according to the summary by Kelly, 1977) that as of Dec. 1975, 64.5% of all male refugees over age sixteen were employed [i.e. an unemployment rate of 35.5%] , and of the employed, only 79.9% were working full time, often at wages below the minimum.

Nguyen and Henkin (1982) found that in the USA only 2.6% of Boat People who had arrived in 1975, and 5.7% of those who arrived after, were unemployed.

Lin et al. (1979) interviewed 152 Vietnamese refugees upon arrival in Washington State in 1975, and another 141 refugees one year following their settlement in the U.S. The Lin team found

that nearly half of the sample of SEA newcomers in Washington State remained unemployed one year after their settlement in the United States.

Montero (1979) conducted a large scale study of Vietnamese refugees in the U.S. The design of that survey was extremely complex and the following summary, although lengthy, is as brief as can be without distorting or misrepresenting what was accomplished by the Montero team.

What is labelled the "first wave survey" measured the socio-economic status of Vietnamese refugees to serve as a benchmark for subsequent "waves" of survey data. Information on 35,000 evacuees was available for a systematic random (1 in 7) sample. The total number of respondents was 4,926. In the late summer of 1975 telephone interviews were conducted with household heads. In the second wave a similar survey was conducted to assess the situation of refugees being resettled as of October 15. A simple random selection resulted in 978 interviews. Also there was a follow up on a random selection of 446 families from the first wave.

During the month of July and early August 1976, "third wave" interviews were completed with 617 heads of household drawn from a population of all Viet Nam refugees resettled in the USA. This comprised a total of 2,936 persons (referred to as the cross-sectional sample). A second component of the third wave survey consisted of 398 heads of household, comprising a total of 2,071

persons who had previously been interviewed in both the first and second wave surveys (the longitudinal sample).

During March and April 1977, a fourth wave survey was conducted on 166 households from the third wave. Telephone interviews were completed with 645 heads of household (541 from the longitudinal group and 104 from the non-response group), representing a cross-section of all Vietnamese refugees in the USA and comprising a total of 2,949 persons. In projecting estimates for the entire Vietnamese refugee population as of the survey date, each of these 645 cases was weighted to reflect the demographic characteristics of the larger Vietnamese refugee population.

During the months of July and August 1977 a fifth wave survey was conducted, wherein 607 of the above 645 households were reinterviewed (2,817 persons). The same weighting method was used.

It appears that Montero (1979: 631) defined the labour force and unemployment in the same manner as used in the Canada's official Labour Force Survey. Apparently the unemployment rates derived from the following method: "Between August 1975 and August 1977, five cross-sectional samples of Vietnam refugees were surveyed at five points in time" (Montero, 1979: 630) From the fifth survey it was found that there was an unemployment rate of only 5% for males and 6.8% for females, considerably less than overall U.S. averages at that time.

Three factors may have influenced Montero's (1979) findings. Because the interviews were conducted by telephone, there may have

been a systematic bias in the status of subjects interviewed. A sizable number of recently arrived Vietnamese might have had limited access to telephones. Those who were employed, and hence more affluent, would be more likely to possess telephone service. Second, those who were reasonably fluent in the English language (and hence more employable) would be more likely to own a telephone than those who spoke only Vietnamese (who would have a more limited repertoire of telephone contacts.) Third, the new immigrants may have been alarmed by a telephone interview with a stranger in an apparently 'official' capacity. The use of the telephone, which relies totally on audial communication, inhibits rapport between the interviewer and subject. Difficulties in building rapport would be further exaggerated for the refugee in an unfamiliar social situation. Thus, fear or embarrassment could discourage the refugees from revealing the fact that they were unemployed.

Nevertheless, the Montero study seems adequately designed and employs an impressive sample size. Confidence in the reliability of the data is further bolstered by the fact that there was no statistically significant difference between the sample of subjects interviewed and the universe on the basis of age, sex, education and date of release from the camp the refugees first stayed in.

Strand (1984) studied 800 SEA households in San Diego. The Hmong, Laotians, Cambodians and Vietnamese in his sample had arrived as early as 1975, and as recently as a few months before the paper was published. For the latter cohort the unemployment rate was 80%, and the rate decreased gradually to a low of 7% for

those in the USA six years. (The labour force participation rate over the same time span increased from 8% to 88%, although the rate for those in the USA 4-5 years was actually higher, at 94%, than for those with six years residence.)

Bach and Seguin (1986) studied variables affecting the labour force participation of Vietnamese in the American state of California. The scientists obtained their raw data from two national surveys of SEAs conducted in 1982 and 1983 by the Office of Refugee Resettlement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The surveys were designed to be representative of the population of SEA refugees who arrived in the USA between April 1975 and April 1982 or '83. Interviews were conducted during October of each year. Respondents were obtained from two sampling frames; lists provided by Immigration and Naturalization Services, and the aforementioned Office of Refugee Resettlement. The authors noted that:

> In many ways, the studies resembled longitudinal surveys in which an individual must be followed after the initial interview using former addresses and various other techniques to trace their residences. ... The only major exception is the likelihood that the survey underrepresented secondary migrants - that is those who have moved from their place of initial residence and who could not be relocated. This is an important, potential bias because secondary migrants may differ from those successfully interviewed...
>
> (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 391-392)

The Bach and Seguin (1986) study found a significant gender difference even after controlling for variables commonly used to account for apparent sex-based differences. According to the

researchers, "Refugee men, who are of the same age, have similarly composed households, have comparable levels of former education, and have undergone relatively similar experiences in the United States (at least those measured here) still have a full 15 percent higher labor force participation rate then refugee women." (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 397)

Bach and Seguin (1986) also discovered that "foreign education is by far the most significant predictor of labor force participation. Regardless of what combination of variables are included in the equation, the magnitude of the relationship between foreign education and labor force participation persists." (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 397)

Bach and Seguin (1986 at p. 400) also found that type of sponsorship was a significant determinant of labour force participation even after other variables such as English ability and education were controlled. "Refugees sponsored by their formerly-resettled relatives have a significantly lower rate of labour force participation than those assisted by both American families and church congregations. But this negative effect is very particular. It occurs only among women who have arrived since 1980." This peculiarity was attributed by the scientists to the construction of ethnic communities. "In this instance, it involves the incorporation of refugee women into an ethnic community in which women are under greater constraints in the home or are less

able to make the interpersonal connections [that can lead to] employment." (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 400)

Caplan (1989) had his team interview 1,384 individual South East Asians who had arrived in the USA since April, 1975. He was able to collect data on household members as well. Information was thereby obtained on 4,160 adults and 2,615 children in five centres: Orange County, California, Chicago, Houston, Boston and Seattle. The sample was not a random one, insofar as the five areas had been selected and insofar as within the areas a combination of methods was needed to obtain enough respondents. The results were nevertheless deemed representative of the experience of SEAs in large U.S. cities and the immediate surroundings. Sampling was done in 1981 and respondents were re-interviewed in 1984. Half the respondents were ethnic Vietnamese, 20% were Sino-Vietnamese and the rest were Laotians. Caplan found that the unemployment rate was a function of length of residence in America. The rate dropped from 88% at four months to 25% at 40 or more months. The labour force participation rate, ignoring length of residence, was 44%.

Canadian research is now reviewed. An optimistic 1979 study by the Vietnamese Association of Toronto of 80 refugees reported 15% unemployment and stated that all of the unemployed were either taking an English language course or undertaking a vocational training course. However, it appears that the subjects in this survey were not drawn by random sampling techniques. Consequently,

there can be little faith placed in the validity, reliability, or generalizability of that study.

Findings from an unpublished 1981 study of Indochinese refugees conducted in-house for Alberta Manpower by Mrs. Ann Sunahara (hereafter cited as Alberta Manpower, 1981) found an 8% unemployment rate, reflecting the prosperous economy in the province at the time.

A non-scientific internal mini-study performed for Alberta Manpower's Settlement Services Branch by summer student Sophia de Pina after the 1981-82 recession had begun gave rise to a rough estimate that the unemployment rate of Vietnamese refugees in Edmonton in the summer of 1984 was between 30 and 45%.

Findings from studies conducted in other provinces also indicated major pre and post-recession differences. A survey conducted in mid 1981 by the Quebec government (Deschamps, 1982) of 2,000 households of Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian refugees who had arrived in late 1979 and early 1980 found an unemployment rate of 22% in mid 1981. A follow up study (Deschamps, 1985) found a worsened situation in mid 1982. Nearly all of the Vietnamese respondents had been in the labour force (working or seeking work) during the preceding year. Of the total number of Vietnamese respondents, 86% had experienced at least one episode of employment and only 7% had never succeeded in getting a job. However, 46% of those who had worked had experienced at least one period of

unemployment during the year and only 42% had worked continuously at a full-time job.

In 1983 a study by the Manitoba government (Government of Manitoba, 1983) indicated an unemployment rate for the Vietnamese in that province of 31.3%.

Mr. Brian Bell, Director of Refugee Resettlement Policy for Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (hereafter CEIC) was widely quoted by the news media circa 1983 as opining that the Vietnamese unemployment rate exceeded 25% nationally. Overall, it is believed that the unemployment rates for the groups of Vietnamese across Canada in the early 1980's were much higher than corresponding rates for Canadian citizens (about 18% in the Maritimes, 11% in Ontario and 14% in the Western provinces, according to the Labour Force Survey results published by Statistics Canada, Ottawa), since the refugees were probably among the hardest hit by the 1982-84 recession.

A 1983 study by the Ottawa-Carlton Southeast Asian Refugee Research Project (Nguyen et al., 1983) reported an overall unemployment rate of 23% for a SEA sample consisting of Chinese-Vietnamese (44%), ethnic Vietnamese (33%), Cambodians (14%), and Laotians (10% of the sample). The unemployment rate varied significantly by ethnic group: Laotians had the lowest rate, 17.2%, while Cambodians suffered from the highest rate, 35%. The rate also varied with type of sponsorship, with government sponsorees having

a rate of 31% and private sponsorees having a rate of 15%.

Samuel (1987) found via a survey of existing empirical studies that those Vietnamese refugees who settled in urban centres had an unemployment rate about half that of those who were living in non-metropolitan areas. The latter group had a rate of about 24%. Other findings were that the unemployment rate eighteen months after arrival was 10.4%, compared to a Canadian rate of 8.5% at that point in time.

Ba (1988: 197) said the following regarding SEAs in New Brunswick. "If we take into account their 'incorporated capital' which was initially small, we have to admit that the refugees are successful: their unemployment record in relative terms is better than that of the average labour force in New Brunswick and Canada." However it is important to consult Ba's footnote to that statement, which reads. "The majority of refugees ... had worked up to 70 hours a week during the first two years after the sponsorship program, some by having two full-time or three part-time jobs."

Woon, Wong and Woo (1988) reported an unemployment rate of 16.4% in 1980 and 32.8% in 1985 for Vietnamese in Victoria, B.C. Indra (1988) found an overall employment rate of 65.4% for her sample of Vietnamese in Alberta, and reported that most of the employed had full-time jobs. She found an unemployment rate of 20.9% for the ethnic Vietnamese and 51.4% for the Sino-Vietnamese, and noted that female rates were higher than male.

Woon et al. (1988) found female unemployment rates to be much higher than male, in Victoria, Canada, in both 1980 and '85. This was true for both ethnic and Sino-Vietnamese.

Copeland (1988) found an unemployment rate for SEAs in Manitoba of 30%, compared to 9% for the province's total work force (seasonally adjusted). The rate for females was higher than for males, and the rate for youths (under age 24) was 38% (compared to 12% for the province).

Some information on the employment of Vietnamese in Britain is found in reports by Jones (1982; 1983a; 1983b) and letters by Jones and his colleagues to the editors of Refuge magazine, cited Jones (1983c). The present author has been unable to access the actual Jones et al. reports, but according to the reviews in Refuge and by Caplan (1989), and to the Jones et al. responses to the Refuge reviews, the unemployment rate of male Vietnamese refugees in Britain was 84% overall, and varied according to length of residence in Britain. Specifically, the unemployment rate dropped from 100% on arrival to 64% after two years to 24% for those in Britain the longest (four or more years). Details on the sample are not available to the present author, but it appears that they were aged 17-65 and that the most senior refugees (in terms of length of residence) had been in the U.K. for two years, and over half the sample had been in the U.K. less than eighteen months. Particularly, of the 3,450 refugees aged 17-65 who were eligible to

work when the survey was taken, only 16% were employed. For refugees in their fifties, the rate was even lower, at 5%, while for those aged 20-29, only 18% were employed.

A partial explanation for this unfortunate situation is the fact that the majority of the 11,500 refugees were ethnic Chinese from North Viet Nam, with no prior contact with Western culture or large cities. These people had minimal education and few occupational skills usable in Britain, and had been rejected by the USA, Canada, Australia and France for those reasons. The British economy was not robust at the time, and social security provisions discouraged adults with several children from working. Although there were some 90,000 ethnic Chinese across Britain, there was no concentrated community or ghetto of them, and certainly no Chinese-Vietnamese community to serve as a support group. (According to various Chinese-Canadians this author has talked to in various Canadian cities since 1983, the established Chinese in Canada disparage all refugees, so one cannot expect that Britain's Chinese would have done anything to help the refugees.)

According to Jones and his colleagues (Jones, 1983c), other reasons for the dismal British experience included the very poor level of English language skill by the immigrants, and the lack of any long term programs or policies to assist the newcomers. According to Jones (1982, 1983c), programs were ad hoc, short term or "front end loaded", and there was little coordination between

service providers, both public or private. Other problems included an extremely low staff-to-refugee ratio, staff with an empire - colony attitude rather than a social work one, a shortage of housing, and no national English as a Second Language (ESL) program like the one in Canada. British ESL training was instead local, piecemeal and sporadic.

Viviani (1984) reviewed several Australian studies of Vietnamese refugees who had arrived 1978-81. She found that the unemployment rate varied from study to study, and with the refugees' length of residence in Australia, but never exceeded 40% and did not fall below 27% Wooden (1991) found unemployment decreased with length of residence in Australia.

A topic related to all of the foregoing, and one which bridges the next section, is the phenomenon of remigration within Canada to seek a employment, more hours of work per week, or a better job. Generalizing from several Canadian studies, Samuel (1987) reported that there had been some remigration to urban centres by SEAs originally not located in large cities. Indra (1988: 72) reported that the majority of Vietnamese not in large cities remigrated to them once the sponsorship term had expired. The same phenomenon was true in the National Capital Region (the Ottawa and Hull area) according to Le and Nguyen (1988: 128). Refugees not in the capital city tended to move there or to other Canadian metropoli (e.g. Toronto), and even many of those in the capital city remigrated to

larger cities. The same finding was reported by Dorais (1988: 170) for Quebec, especially the Quebec City area which experienced remigration to Montreal, and for the Atlantic provinces by Ba (1988: 200), and by Copeland (1988: 98) for Manitoba.

2.4 Literature on occupational mobility

For newcomers to the industrialized and post-industrial West, initial downward mobility or even unemployment is common, and upward mobility can be slow: Martin and Encel (1981: ch. 5), Smith (1981), Banton (1983), Brown (1984), Saunders (1985). For immigrants with professional or technical skills, initial underemployment or downward socioeconomic mobility is the norm. The SEAs in the USA and Canada are no exception: Kelly (1977), Vignes and Hall (1979), Buchignani (1980), Indra (1980: 183), Starr and Roberts (1982), Deschamps (1982), Nguyen and Henkin (1982), Strand and Jones Jr. (1985), Samuel (1987), Woon et al. (1988), Copeland (1988), Heipel (1990). In the previously mentioned (section 2.3, p. 35) IATF survey (cited in Kelly, 1977) Vietnamese who found work "found jobs outside areas in which they had previously worked and which were considered lower on the occupational scale". (Kelly, 1977: 177)

The complex Montero (1979) study reported considerable downward mobility for Vietnamese immigrants who had been white collar workers, and somewhat less downward movement amongst blue

collar workers. However, even among the latter, 56% were working at a lower status occupation than they were trained for. The proportion of households earning under $200 per month decreased from 42% at Phase One to 3% at the fifth interview phase. Concomitantly, the proportion of households earning in the top bracket (at least $800 per month) increased from 15% to 51%. In that study the simple white collar versus blue collar dichotomy is unacceptably crude, but this is compensated for by the fact that actual income data was obtained.

Turning to the Caplan study of a decade later (Caplan, 1989) the methodology of which was described in the previous section, it was found that 71% of SEA refugees in the American labour force held low status, low pay jobs. The Caplan book does not provide a specific comparison of the status level of American jobs to jobs held in Viet Nam (only U.S. jobs were ranked according to the "Duncan SEI") so one cannot say that there was significant downward mobility. There was clear evidence of upward mobility within the USA, using the first American job as the starting point. Caplan (1989, at p. 62) compared the averaged total household income (as a numerator) to the 1982 U.S. "poverty line" income (as the denominator) and multiplied by 100. He found that at four months U.S. residence the overall percentage was 46 (i.e. the sample averaged a household income of less than half the "poverty line" household income), but the percentage rose steadily to 101% at one

year's length of residence and to 171% at 40 or more months. Adjusting for changes in the poverty line over time (which was apparently done but not reported in the Caplan book) made the results even more impressive.

According to a summary provided in the Greater Toronto South East Asian Refugee Task Force Report (Feb. 1981) a U.S. study by Robert Bach, based on a 7% sample of 157,509 Indochinese refugees located in Jan. 1979, found that 45% were in blue collar work, compared to 33% of the U.S. population. The unemployment rate for the youth in the sample was also higher than the overall U.S. youth rate. (The present author has been unable to obtain further details of Bach's original study.)

Turning to Canadian data, Samuel (1987) found that 25% of Vietnamese refugees listed their former occupations as professional-technical but only 4% held such occupations during their first year here. Heipel (1990) found initial downward mobility for 58% of his sample of Central American refugees in London, Ontario which he attributed to lack of English, non-recognition of foreign credentials and discrimination from professional and trade associations and from employers. Just over a quarter of his sample had been professionals in Central America but when studied only one of the 76 had a professional occupation in London.

Robert T. Bach (Greater Toronto South East Asian Refugee Task

Force Report, 1981) studied a sample of 11,000 Indochinese refugees in the U.S. and found that 45% were in blue collar work, compared to 33% of the U.S. population.

The Quebec study cited above (Deschamps, 1982) found low incomes and employment in physically demanding occupations. In most cases the wife worked to supplement the family income, and earned an average of $159 per week, primarily in service and textile industries.

A study sponsored by the Alberta Law Foundation, conducted in Calgary in 1981 by Hai Nguyen, found that after two to three years in Canada, only 10 of the 22 Indochinese who had held professional or technical positions in South East Asia were currently working in occupations of comparable status. It is difficult to generalize from the results of this study as the subject pool was quite small.

The study by Woon, Wong and Woo (cited Woon et al., 1988) conducted in Victoria, British Columbia found underemployment and downward mobility for both ethnic Vietnamese (p. 49) and Sino-Vietnamese (p. 52). The latter group fared the worst in this regard. Forty two percent experienced downward mobility relative to their prior status in Viet Nam, and 13% found that their Vietnamese occupational skills were irrelevant in the new labour market. An interesting result of this (1988: 61) was stress induced by not knowing how to fill the enforced 'leisure' time, which is ironic since so many Canadians travel to Victoria to vacation or retire.

Copeland (1988: 102) also reported that many of the SEAs in his Manitoba sample (centred in Winnipeg) were underemployed.

While not dealing with Third World refugees, a review of the literature on immigration and unemployment in Canada by Clodman and Richmond (1982) concluded that unemployment rates drop considerably after the first year but remain high even after three years, with as many as one third of immigrants failing to achieve their intended occupational status. Very similar results regarding the proportion of immigrants still below their former status after two to four years in Canada were reported by Weiermair (1976). Similarly, Richmond (1967) reported that around 60% of immigrants do not recover their former occupational status even after many years in Canada.

To summarize the foregoing, the unemployment rate among South East Asian refugees in North America reportedly ranges from 5% to 50%. The sheer range of this "average rate" suggests that so many variables affect refugee employment (including the quality of the research, the local economy, characteristics of the refugee cohort, length of stay at time of survey, dispersement versus residential concentration, and the quality and quantity of support services) that few generalizations are possible. Certainly the recession Canada experienced circa 1981-82 had a serious effect on the economic adaptation of the Boat People, who had made impressive initial progress in 1979 and '80 (Deschamps, 1985; Woon, 1987; Woon

et al., 1988; Dorais, 1988; Le and Nguyen, 1988). It does appear that initial underemployment is a problem for skilled or educated refugees, as evidenced by a disproportionately high percentage of refugees engaged in unskilled or blue collar work.

2.5 Effect of ethnic networks on occupational adaptation

Studies of the relationship between ethnic networks and occupational adaptation have shown that among immigrants in large Canadian cities, a common method of obtaining employment has been through social network contacts rather than through employment agencies or newspaper advertisements This has been shown by Haines et al. (1981a), Chan (1987) and Woon (1987) regarding SEAs; Ashworth (1977) regarding Chinese; Chimbos (1980) regarding Greeks; Anderson (1974) regarding Portuguese; and Calzavara (1983) regarding Jews, Italians, and Portuguese. Comparing several studies from the early 1980's, Samuel (1987) reported that some Indochinese refugees relied more on their sponsors while others relied more on "word of mouth" or Canada Employment Centres. Also relevant is a participant-observation study by Buchignani (1977) of Fijians in British Columbia, which found that extended kin systems were sources of mutual aid in structural adaptation. Similarly, Kutz-Harder (1990) found that certain groups, namely Armenians and Afghans, totally absorbed new refugees into their Canadian communities, taking total control over their lives and ensuring

they had jobs within a few days.

Anderson (1974) found that eventual occupational status was dependent on what the "gatekeeper" offered. That is, the job could turn out to be a dead end or a stepping stone, the latter usually being a semi-skilled or unionized position. Calzavara (1983) found ethnic differences in the quality of jobs offered to new arrivals from the home country. It should be noted that "stepping stone" jobs are less likely for third world refugees. Tran (1991) found that Indochinese refugees in the USA who were sponsored by relatives were less likely to even have jobs than those sponsored by volunteer organizations. The Anderson and Calzavara studies dealt with European immigrants, but as will be seen below, the same phenomenon applies to recent refugees.

Heipel (1990) found that Central Americans received jobs via their ethnic social network, but that these were "dead end", low status positions. Bushart (1990) opined that the system whereby low status jobs are received through the ethnic social network inhibits long term occupational adaptation and can result in periods of unemployment. He argued that extensive language and occupational upgrading upon arrival were preferable to immediate employment at low level occupations, so as to ensure continuous employment and high status jobs in the long run.

In the Quebec study by Deschamps (1982), sponsors were the modal source of successful job referrals, accounting for 25% of

such referrals. Friends and relatives were the next most frequently cited source.

Chan (1987) interviewed 119 Indochinese in Montreal and found that 70% got their most recent job via social networks (friends, and to a much lesser extent relatives and sponsors). None used newspapers or employment agencies.

In an opportunity sample of 175 ESL (English as a Second Language) students in Vancouver, mostly East Indian and Chinese, Ashworth (1977) found that 60% of the employed got their jobs via friends or relatives.

Woon (1987) studied twenty Vietnamese households in Victoria, British Columbia in the spring of 1983. The interviewees had urban and relatively high socioeconomic status backgrounds. Woon found that of those refugees who succeeded in finding work, over 75% did so through their own efforts. Even for those refugees who were government sponsored, more than half found jobs on their own. Of course in Victoria circa 1979-83 there were few established Vietnamese refugees, such that an ethnic network as a source of jobs was not as viable an option as in other Canadian cities. Once the recession hit Victoria in 1980, the government sponsored refugees were more able to find employment than were the privately sponsored job seekers. This was apparently because the former had more direct job hunting experience and had made extensive use of their social network. Overall, both before and after 1980, much

better jobs were found through the efforts of private sponsors, Canada Employment Centres and the Refugee Aid Centre than by refugees on their own.

In further analyzing data from the same study, Woon et al. (1988) observed that the ethnic Vietnamese had an unemployment rate about 40% higher than their Sino compatriots. The latter had a better chance of finding work due to the established Chinese subculture and economy. However the jobs obtained were at minimal wages and sometimes exploitive. The Victoria research data were collected circa 1980-85, at which time it was too early to be sure whether those unskilled jobs were 'dead end' or 'stepping stone'.

An unpublished study by Alberta Manpower (1981) found 69% of first jobs for Indochinese refugees were obtained through official sources (government and volunteer agencies) rather than gatekeepers. On the other hand, 37% of second jobs, compared to 18% of first, were obtained through friends.

According to Mullan (1989), ethnic social networks have a major influence on occupational status of immigrants:

> Within these individual network types some of the benefits accruing to migrants are startling. Access to personal U.S. networks result in an average 4.4 point advantage in occupational prestige scores over no access.
>
> (Mullan, 1989: 82)

In this study of Mexican immigrants to the United States, Mullan (1989) further observed that occupational success or failure was not solely due to socioeconomic characteristics, but

was in part due to the migrants' societal infrastructure and the fact that migrants differentially accessed and utilized the networks.

Gold (1989) found that numerous mutual assistance groups aided the adaptation of Vietnamese in California. The associations were based on such criteria as occupation, military service, religion or regional origin, and offered services including resettlement and newspaper publication.

On the other hand, intense involvement with an ethnic community or social network may have a deleterious effect on integration. As Cox (1985) said, "A well developed ethnic group will tend to slow down integration" and thereby create adaptation problems. This is because:

> If the ethnic group is well developed, it becomes less important to master the local language or in other ways adapt to the new environment. This can effect further education, employment... and so on.
>
> (Cox, 1985: 83)

Beiser (1990) found that what he called the "cocoon" effect resulted in Chinese-Vietnamese having far fewer psychological adaptation symptoms than ethnic Vietnamese, but making much slower socio-cultural adaptation.

2.5(a) Effect of ethnic ghettos on occupational adaptation

The discussion so far in this section (2.5) has dealt with the effect of ethnic social networks on occupational adaptation. A

closely related topic is the effect of ethnic residential and commercial clustering on occupational adaptation. Since the ethnic social network is often physically located in an ethnic enclave, the two topics are so closely related that it has been decided to deal with the "ghetto effect" as a subtopic of section 2.5 rather than a separate topic.

Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982) studied the formation of a Vietnamese enclave or ghetto in Sun Valley, Colorado. The social scientists found that the presence of a large ethnic community can retard integration. The researchers noted that Sun Valley attracted Vietnamese from all over the USA, and that the ghetto residents tended to have similar background traits; namely having lived outside of Saigon when in Viet Nam, and having been labourers in Viet Nam. Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982: 74-75) also found the Sun Valley residents to have worse English skills than Vietnamese refugees in the Denver area dispersed outside the enclave. Some ghetto residents moved out because they felt that the enclave delayed integration (Pisarowicz and Tosher, 1982: 77).

Dorais (1988: 174) noted briefly that the SEAs in Quebec City clustered together residentially "in the same area of the city, if not in the same apartment building, as their relatives."

Cox (1985: 83) stated that reliance on the ethnic group to the exclusion of the rest of the host society is likely to be only a short term problem for the immigrant, and it may in any case be

offset by the benefits the ethnic group can provide for its members. This was apparently confirmed by Dorais (1991) who reported that in Quebec City SEAs had established ethnic communities which were often linked to the presence of relatively well educated and economically successful individuals.

According to a study of Vietnamese in California by Bach and Seguin (1986), males had a higher employment rate than females, but this was due more to social than physiological aspects of gender. The spurious relationship between gender and employment was reportedly due to the construction of ethnic communities. "In this instance, it involves the incorporation of refugee women into an ethnic community in which women are under greater constraints in the home or are less able to make the interpersonal connections [that can lead to] employment." (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 400)

Bushart (1990) remarked that there is a tendency for some refugees in New York State to survive on welfare payments in cities where this is a norm, whereas in smaller communities there is much less likelihood of this occurring. Apparently where there are no established ghettos, local residents are more "outreaching" to the new immigrants and this assists their economic and psychological adjustment. In cities where the newcomer immediately moves into an ethnic enclave, the other city residents remain aloof and the newcomer adopts the norms of the enclave, which in some cases includes a reliance on public assistance and little motivation to

adapt to the new culture.

2.6 Effect of gender on employment rates and occupational mobility

The previously mentioned Bach and Seguin (1986) study indicates a significant gender difference in labour force participation even after controlling for variables commonly used to account for apparent sex-based differences. According to the researchers "Refugee men, who are of the same age, have similarly composed households, have comparable levels of former education, and have undergone relatively similar experiences in the United States (at least those measured here) still have a full 15 percent higher labor force participation rate then refugee women." (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 397) However the difference between the sexes in employment was attributed largely to community norms and ensuing social and proximity factors. In a regression analysis, Strand (1984) found that gender was only spuriously predictive of employment status.

Michalowski (1987) used secondary analysis of existing data on economic adaptation to illustrate, via population pyramids (a common demographic device), an age-gender interaction.

Woon (1987) also found that job search methods, sponsorship and gender interacted in regard to whether a job was obtained and the quality of the job. Generally, females fared worse than males. Chan and Lam (1987b) and Woon et al. (1988) found that for some Vietnamese there was a husband-wife role reversal. Some wives had paid jobs whereas the husbands were the 'homemakers'.

2.7 Effect of English fluency on employment rates and occupational mobility

According to John Samuel (1987), a senior researcher with the Canadian government:

> Clearly, proficiency in English or French was an important employment factor for Indochinese refugees arriving in Canada during a period of recession. Knowledge of English or French probably would not have been so important had the economy been buoyant as reported in an early U.S. study (Montero, 1979) which found that despite little English proficiency nine out of ten refugees found jobs between 1975 and 1979. ... In the national survey of Indochinese refugees, those who had poor or no knowledge of English had an unemployment rate that was four points higher (11.8 vs. 7.8%) than those with a fluent, good or fair knowledge of the language.
>
> (Samuel, 1987: 69-70)

Montero (1979) found that employment rates were positively correlated with level of English proficiency. Strand (1984) used multiple regression to discover that the main and only significant predictor across his sample of Hmong, Laotian, Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in San Diego was enrollment in ESL (English language) classes. Not only did Strand feel that oral English skill was a major predictor of occupational status, but he also felt that writing skills were important, as, for example, in the context of filling out job applications. Saunders (1985) said that lack of ESL led to unemployment, underemployment and downward mobility for Russian Jews who arrived in Vancouver.

In a review of 25 studies on economic adaptation of immigrants (including refugees), Richmond (1981) emphasized the importance of

fluency in English on employability. Also, employment in jobs requiring the use of English greatly contributes to the development of fluency in the English language. Thus the relationship between English skill and employment is bi-directional over time, although it may operate in one direction at a point in time. For example, a minimal amount of English skill may be needed to obtain a job, and thereafter the job itself may improve the worker's English, which may in turn help her to get a better job. (The author has witnessed this phenomenon in regard to two Brazilian immigrants he befriended in Toronto in 1987.) It is worth emphasizing that the relationship between employment status and English skill is circular rather than being a uni-directional cause and effect one. It is therefore futile to attempt to determine over any period of time exceeding a few days whether English fluency leads to employment and better jobs, or (contrarily) whether increased fluency results from employment and from working at higher status jobs which involve more use of the English language.

Nguyen and Henkin (1982) believed that the rate of learning a new language is far more important than language ability on arrival in the new land, and they thought that the Vietnamese learned English quickly. The young learned due to their youth and the old due to their familiarity with French (transfer knowledge). Also, the Nguyen and Henkin sample did not include Chinese-Vietnamese, whose language is much more different from English than Vietnamese

is from English. Another suspected reason for the fast learning was that the first (1975) wave were dispersed and had no ethnic community to delay their immersion into an English speaking culture. (The later wave learned more slowly due to the by-then established ethnic community.) Nguyen and Henkin (1982) also believed that the much higher education of the original wave helped them learn English faster.

Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982) found that Vietnamese refugees in Colorado who had higher socioeconomic status (SES) than other Vietnamese refugees had better English skills. This may have been partly a background factor (higher education and /or job training on arrival) and partly a contextual (post-arrival) factor in that the "better English" group did not live in the Sun Valley ghetto, but were dispersed throughout Metropolitan Denver. The "better English" cohort had higher SES both in Viet Nam and in the USA, suggesting that English skill was at least partly causal in the maintenance of the SES.

Wooden (1991) controlled for age, gender, education and premigration employment history and still found that refugees in Australia were significantly more likely to be unemployed than non-refugees (despite a gradual improvement over time). The difference was attributed to the poor English skills of the refugees.

2.8 Effect of education on employment rates and occupational mobility

Richmond (1974) concluded from a review of the literature that occupational status was a function of immigrants' education. A decade later, Samuel and Woloski (1985) reviewed the labour market experiences of Canadian immigrants and came to the same conclusion. Park (1981) studied Korean immigrants in Los Angeles and found a positive correlation between education or socio-economic status on arrival and socio-cultural adaptation.

As noted in earlier in this chapter, Nguyen and Henkin (1982) found that highly educated Vietnamese learned English faster than less educated Vietnamese, so presumably this would also lead to faster occupational mobility.

Hundreds of studies over the last several decades have shown that education is correlated with income, and recent studies in Alberta have shown that youths' chances of obtaining jobs increase with education (Creative Employment Development Association, 1984; Statistics Canada, 1984, Table 8). Similarly, regarding immigrants, Richmond (1974 review of literature) and Samuel and Woloski (1985) found a positive correlation between education on arrival and occupational adaptation. In the case of Third World immigrants, however, since many are forced initially to take low status jobs at the minimum wage, with any foreign diplomas, degrees or certificates not being recognized, there may be no such correlation for the present sample of refugees with relatively short length of residence in Canada.

According to Richmond (1974) and Starr et al. (1979, 1982), immigrants and refugees with higher levels of education tend to be less subjectively adjusted than those with less education. This may be due to downward occupational mobility with feelings of frustrated expectations, status inconsistency, and relative deprivation.[1] It appears that education will be positively correlated with long term adaptation, especially with economic or "hard" measures of adaptation, but will be unrelated to short term objective measures thereof, and inversely related to "soft" (socio-cultural and subjective) aspects (especially in the short term and absent a certain level of objective adaptation).

Bach and Seguin (1986) found that "foreign education is by far the most significant predictor of labor force participation. Regardless of what combination of variables are included in the equation, the magnitude of the relationship between foreign education and labor force participation persists." (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 397)

All the above must be taken in light of the problems of initial downward mobility, underemployment and the non-recognition of foreign credentials held by new immigrants and refugees. Thus for most newcomers the positive effect of education will be delayed for several months or years, or at least until the newcomer can function in English.

2.9 Effect of sponsorship on employment rates and occupational mobility

Bach and Seguin (1986) also found that type of sponsorship was a significant determinant of labour force participation even after other variables such as English ability and education were controlled:

> Refugees sponsored by their formerly-resettled relatives have a significantly lower rate of labour force participation than those assisted by both American families and church congregations. But this negative effect is very particular. It occurs only among women who have arrived since 1980.
>
> (Bach and Seguin, 1986: 400)

Woon (1987) found a somewhat complicated interaction between gender and type of sponsorship in regard to the quality of jobs obtained. Also determinative of job status was how the job was found (i.e. by the refugee alone, by the ethnic group, by the government - whether or not it was the sponsor, by the private sponsor, or by the Refugee Aid Centre). In this vein, Samuel (1987) reported that type of sponsorship had an effect on the unemployment rate of Indochinese refugees, and on length of unemployment prior to first Canadian job, but that different levels of education between the groups were also responsible for the differences.

Tran (1991) studied Indochinese refugees in the USA and found that those sponsored by volunteer agencies were more likely to be employed than those sponsored by ethnic relatives.

It may be that sponsorship effects are spurious, or quickly disappear with time beyond the period of sponsorship. Indra (1987:

9-10) concluded that the effects of sponsorship are much less than previously thought.

2.10 Literature on subjective adaptation

It cannot be assumed that objective measures of cultural or occupational adaptation fully measure the adjustment of refugees to North American culture. It is important to also understand how the refugees perceive their situations. It is equally of interest to the social scientist to ascertain what factors affect or predict the variance in these perceptions. Such a task requires objective measurement of the subjective aspects of the refugees' adaptation, and objective measures of whatever factors are expected to affect subjective adjustment. In the present survey, for example, perceived or felt satisfaction with present life in Canada is the measure of "subjective adaptation", whereas other studies to be reviewed below use other measures.

Richmond (1974: 17, 30, 31) reviewed the literature on the adjustment of immigrants to Canada, including a major Toronto survey, and found an inverse relation between education and subjective aspects of adaptation. These early findings have been replicated in recent studies of SEA refugees in North America. In the section immediately preceding the one above, i.e. chapter 2.8, studies were reviewed which showed how education, while positively correlated with economic adaptation, may be inversely related to subjective adjustment.

Stein (1979) declared that occupational adaptation greatly

facilitates cultural, social and psychological adjustment. He observed that:

> Employment seems to be the critical factor in moving the refugees into the mainstream of society. Beside restoring the refugee's sense of 'self regard', employment provides contact with colleagues, the boss, and the company. It also offers opportunities to learn and practice the language, discover and conform to group norms, and develop social involvement and acceptance. It provides, in addition, the income needed to participate in social and cultural activities.
>
> (Stein, 1979: 27-28)

Beiser (1990) found that employment served two main functions for SEA refugees in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. Firstly, employment provided a way of paying living expenses and gradually increasing standard of living; the same function employment has for Canadians. Secondly, however, employment served to fulfil obligations to relatives left in the homeland. Unlike Canadians, occupational status was not important for these recent (up to ten years of Canadian residence) arrivals. In fact underemployment did not create mental health problems (especially for parents who had apparently transferred their aspirations to their children).

Lin et al. (1979) used the Cornell Medical Index (CMI) to measure the general psycho-social status of a semi-random, semi-convenience sample of Vietnamese who arrived in the USA in 1975. Of the 152 respondents who were studied in phase one, 54 were re-evaluated a year later (phase two), along with 39 respondents who

had not participated in phase one and 48 newly recruited from the Vietnamese community. Mean CMI scores were almost identical when the 1975 and 1976 data are compared. However, in phase one there was no correlation between total CMI scores and variables such as age, marital status, family type, education and occupation. Contrarily, in phase two, significant differences were found in gender, age-gender categories, marital status and family type. The researchers concluded that the initial tasks dealing with adaptation and stress were basic and affected refugees indiscriminately, while a year later the aforementioned differential affects became measurable. For example, young ex-military enlisted men with no U.S. relatives fared the best while divorced or widowed female household heads fared the worst. There were significant age-gender interactions. Plotting the CMI scores horizontally over age, with CMI scores vertically (higher score indicative of worse adjustment) one sees a U shape for males and an arch shape for the females. Simply, for males the most adjusted were the 21-45 year olds, while for females the most adjusted were under 21 or over 45. Thus the groups with the most problems were reproductive aged women and young and old men. Also in phase two, marital status had a significant effect, with the married being the least adjusted (probably due to greater family responsibilities).

Wiseman (1985) found that satisfaction with life for immigrants derived from such basics as extent of social services

received, especially regarding housing, job placement and health.

Lam (1983) interviewed 64 Chinese-Vietnamese refugees in Montreal and obtained data on age, sex, previous SES, types of sponsorship, family intactness, and traumatic experiences. Lam then examined how these six variables were associated with a) the refugees' perceived chance of success in Canada and b) their felt satisfaction with their life here. The following associations were noted: refugees' perceived chance of success was very strongly associated with family intactness and strongly associated with previous high SES, sponsorship by a small group of people (as opposed to government), and a relatively low level of previous traumatic experiences. The refugees' perceived chance of success had little relationship to their age or sex. Indra (1988) in her study of self-concept of Vietnamese in Alberta stated:

> Low status and unremunerative jobs among Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese in this sample do not in themselves correlate with lower self-esteem. Relative deprivation and higher expectations seem to lead those Vietnamese who are more educated to a less strong self-concept than others.
>
> (Indra, 1988: 91)

Starr et al. (1979) found that traits which should help an Indochinese immigrant adapt to Western culture (higher education, better English fluency, less powerful ethnic reference group) were associated with relatively poor mental health.

Nguyen and Henkin (1982) found no relationship between satisfaction with life in the USA and the Vietnamese' income. (The

Pearson r correlation was almost zero.) The researchers concluded that "those refugees with high incomes are not necessarily more satisfied with their new life than those who earn less." (Nguyen and Henkin, 1982 at p. 113)

2.11 Effect of age on subjective aspects of adaptation

Migration research has confirmed the layperson's perception that age is inversely correlated with adaptation to a new culture. Children are inherently more adaptable and receptive to new stimuli than older persons are. An unpublished report by Kwok Chan summarized in the Montreal Gazette 10 Feb. 1982 documents an extreme case wherein some of the older refugees were spending much of their time in a nostalgic reverie, unable to cope with their new situation. Starr and Roberts (1982) found that age was not related to adjustment, measured via the popular Langner scale of general mental health, and via the well-known MMPI scale of personality. (The Starr and Roberts (1982) study was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal and the sample had been in the USA up to three years.) One recalls from the Lin et al. (1979) study that there were no gender or age effects in the first year but that gender and age had significant effects during the second year of residence. Also, there were important gender-age interactions.

2.12 Effect of municipal size on subjective aspects of adaptation

"Big city" life is known by both social psychologists and laypersons to be more impersonal, fast paced and less friendly and intimate than "small town" life. Alternately one might expect that the greater diversity and stimulation of urban life might lead to faster acculturation for newcomers. There are no migration research studies to justify these competing hypotheses (that refugee adaptation would be better or worse in nonmetropolitan areas) although ethnic residential segregation and/or clustering has been studied by Montero (1979), Jones (1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c), Haines (1980a, 1980b), Haines et al. (1981a), Nguyen and Henkin (1982), Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982) and Knudsen (1983). Samuel (1987: 68) reported a much lower unemployment rate for Vietnamese refugees in urban centres than in non-urban. Both he and the several 1988 studies reviewed above in chapter 2.3 found a tendency to re-migrate to such urban centres. This was mainly to take advantage of better employment opportunities.

2.13 Effect of ethnicity on subjective aspects of adaptation

Given that there is already a large Chinese-Canadian subculture, and many Chinese-Canadians have become successful in business and some areas of academia and are entering the traditional professions, it may be hypothesized that the Chinese-

Vietnamese will adjust faster than the ethnic Vietnamese. On the other hand, this writer was told that the established Chinese-Canadians have no inclination to assist these new competitors. A Chinese-Canadian told this researcher that the word "refugee" connoted such extreme disdain that a Chinese-Canadian would not say it face-to-face to a Sino-Vietnamese, although it reflected the true attitude held. Woon et al. (1988) indicated that many Vietnamese-Chinese have changed the spelling of their family names (e.g Huong or Vuong to Wong, Ly to Lee, Tran to Chan etc.) to appear Chinese-Canadian. This all suggests that adaptation may be more difficult for the Chinese-Vietnamese than the ethnic Vietnamese.

Some research (Desbarats, 1986; Gold, 1989) has shown this effect. Indra's (1987) discussion of Vietnamese-Sino-Vietnamese attitudes also indicates that the established Chinese-Canadians show no mercy toward the refugees. This would forestall any cooperation by the former toward the latter, vitiating any hypothetical advantage over the ethnically Vietnamese. On the other hand one might expect that the Chinese-Vietnamese are so motivated to compete with the established Chinese to work even harder than the ethnically Vietnamese. (As was mentioned in chapter one, in Viet Nam the Chinese tended to be successful merchants.) Indeed this researcher was told by one of his assistants that the Sino-Vietnamese feel the pressure to compete with the earlier Chinese.

This might result in better economic adaptation compared to the ethnic Vietnamese but in no advantage on subjective factors or socio-cultural adaptation.

Beiser (1990) found that what he called the "cocoon" effect resulted in Chinese-Vietnamese having far fewer psychological adaptation symptoms than ethnic Vietnamese, but also in their making much slower socio-cultural adaptation. Dorais (1988) reported:

> What Woon (1984) says about the Victoria Chinese refugees from South Vietnam is also true in Quebec: they feel completely alien to Vietnamese politics, and do not contemplate going back to Vietnam, even if conditions would change there. [Hence were not interested in the Vietnamese Association of Quebec because it had a political agenda.]
>
> (Dorais, 1988: 183)

The same author went on to say that:

> But most refugees do not want ... to become completely assimilated. Even if all of them understand that they must change some of their daily habits in order to adapt successfully to Quebec society, they still wish to remain faithful to their original identity. This is especially true for political refugees, such as many Cambodians or ethnic Vietnamese, who would return back to their country if conditions changed there. It is less so for economic refugees, like most Sino-Vietnamese, who have decided once and for all to start a new life in North America.
>
> (Dorais, 1988: 186)

2.14 Effect of ethnic network on subjective aspects of adaptation

The ethnic community can provide economic opportunities and friendship opportunities, and can create conditions for the individual which will allow him/her to pursue his/her interests and

realize his/her self potential. (Sources include Rogg, 1974; Buchignani, 1977; Finnan, 1983; Knudsen, 1983; Strand and Jones Jr., 1985; Van Esterik and Van Esterik, 1988.) An ethnic social network can provide an immigrant with social and psychological support (Murphy, 1965; Starr et al., 1979; Chan, 1987; Chan and Lam, 1987a, 1987b; Copeland, 1988: 112) as well as providing new friends or potential spouses, the perpetuation of the homeland's diet, music, dance, holy days or festivals, religion and related rituals, and news about the homeland as well as information about the host culture and local job opportunities (Buchignani, 1977; Finnan, 1983; Dorais, 1991).

It might be presumed that such social and psychological support would "arm" the immigrant or "immunize" him or her against culture shock or traumatic alienation, so that the immigrant would be better able to adapt to the new society. On the other hand, such intra-ethnic involvement may provide so much comfort and scope that it becomes a self-sufficient lifestyle, leaving the members with no need or inclination to adapt to the host culture (Pisarowicz and Tosher, 1982 at p. 77; Cox, 1985 at p. 83).

Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982) found that in Colorado, the non-enclave cohort of Vietnamese refugees, who had higher SES (both in Viet Nam and in America) and better English than those in the Sun Valley enclave, were less happy and more eager to return to Viet Nam should conditions improve there. The researchers attributed

this to alienation resulting from not living in the enclave.

Beiser (1990) reported that psychiatric symptom rates were highest for SEAs who lacked social support from friends and/or relatives, and who were unmarried. He also found that rates for Chinese-Vietnamese were no higher than the overall Vancouver area population; whereas the rates for the ethnic Vietnamese were three times higher, and he attributed this to the cushioning effect of the pre-existing Chinese subculture in Vancouver. Ghettoization in the socio-cultural sense (with or without any residential concentration) may make it easy for immigrants to survive in the new land without integrating (Richmond, 1972; Nguyen and Henkin, 1982). This would be especially likely in Canadian cities where the concept of multiculturalism is an official federal policy also adhered to by municipal politicians seeking the ethnic vote.

Finnan (1983) wrote about the job satisfaction of refugees. and believed it was a function of perception of or by the ethnic community moreso than by the individual refugee:

> Role definitions, as well as values, are refracted through the prism of the ethnic community. The refugees' ethnic community (including both an established ethnic group and other new arrivals) helps members redefine occupational roles and recreate an occupational hierarchy. In sum, the refugee community actively supports the occupational assimilation of its members. However, its influence on job choice is but its most obvious role. The community also influences the way its members make sense of their world, including the occupational environment.
>
> (Finnan, 1983: 307)

Possibly the foregoing can be generalized from occupational satisfaction to general satisfaction with life in the new society, given the importance of occupation in Western society. Possibly supporting this speculation is Starr and Roberts' (1982) finding that attitudes toward the Vietnamese reference group were significantly related to personal adjustment, whereas number of Vietnamese friends in the neighborhood was not.

Following an idea first suggested by Rogg (1974), Finnan (1983) professed that what largely determines a newcomer's occupational satisfaction is not the status of the job per se, nor the relative status of the prior and present occupations, but the rating the ethnic community puts on the present job. An opposite possible reason that occupational adaptation does not correlate well with subjective measures of satisfaction is that educated immigrants may feel deprived relative to their expectations (cf. Portes, 1969 regarding Cubans in Milwaukee) or compared to the situation of their peers in the homeland. Melendy (1982) also stated that Vietnamese and Korean immigrants experienced great frustration and severe disappointment at the sudden "downward mobility" they experienced. (This was also confirmed by a Korean immigration paralegal colleague the author met at a Toronto immigration law firm in 1988.)

2.15 Effect of gender on subjective aspects of adaptation

Starr and Roberts (1982) found that gender was not related to adjustment, as measured via the Langner scale, a popular index of general mental health, and the well-known MMPI scale of personality. The Lin et al. (1979) study described above found no sex or age effects in the first year, but found that sex and age had significant effects during the second year of residence. Also, there were important sex-age interactions. Given the many incidents reported (e.g. Edmonton Journal, 27 Feb., 1984) by refugee officials of Vietnamese wives being housewives and/or working in jobs where they don't interact with Canadians and are subject to isolation and fatigue, it is expected that such women would score lower than their husbands on measures of life satisfaction.

Given the many incidents reported by the press and agency directors of Vietnamese wives being "trapped in the home" or working as housewives by day and janitors by night, it is clear that such women will have much less opportunity than their husbands to interact with Canadians and to learn Canadian culture. (Males are more independent and likely to be outside more often, in sports teams more often and employed more often than females.) Also, since young (under 21 years) and old (45 plus years) Vietnamese females are more sheltered in the home, such females may be expected to acculturate more slowly than males of all ages. All of this should result in worse objective and subjective adaptation for females than males. On the other hand the high unemployment rate among Vietnamese male household heads in Edmonton in 1983-84 apparently

leads to embarrassment within the family, or conflict, and to lowered self esteem and depression for males.

Woon et al. (1988) found that some of the female adults in their sample were "tied" to the home due to homemaker duties, and experienced social isolation due to lack of a social network in Victoria at that time. On the other hand, the researchers also found that some adult females have paid jobs outside the home when their husbands did not, which forced the husbands into the novel and uncomfortable role of "homemaker". The same role reversal was discovered by Chan and Lam (1987b) in Montreal. The Woon et al. team (1988) found that women and children learned English faster than adult males, and accepted the new culture more readily, especially when it contained values in their favour (individualism, liberty, sex equality etc.).

P. Van Esterik (1980: 159-161) explained that the status of women in SEA society is much better than in India or mainland China, and that women in SEA countries are perceived as superior to men in some respects. Many SEA women were successful business entrepreneurs or professionals prior to arriving in Canada. In Canada there could be role uncertainty, however.

Indra (1980: 180-181), asserted that husband-wife, parent-child and adult-old parent conflict is frequent within Vietnamese refugee families in Canada and is likely to be persist for years due to problems such as husband-wife role reversal (female "breadwinner", male "househusband"), less respect for elders, and more autonomy for teenagers. Indra's (1988: 91) research in Alberta

discovered that Vietnamese female immigrants had higher self-concepts than their male counterparts. This difference was presumed attributable to the difficulty experienced by the men in establishing a personal role in Canada which satisfies pre-immigration criteria for being "successful".

Similarly, Dorais (1988) notes that:

> The position of some younger women is also very often different, as they seem to accept new ideas more easily than males. This may be due to the fact that the social rules regulating husband-wife and parent-child relations are more liberal in Canada, and that women expect to gain some measure of independence by adopting them.
>
> Therefore, adult males probably constitute, in many cases, one of the groups for which social integration is the most problematical. They share this dubious distinction with elderly people, men and women alike, and together form the most isolated sector of Indochinese communities.
>
> (Dorais, 1988: 86)

Lin et al. (1979) believed that young and old women were relatively sheltered, whereas reproduction aged female Vietnamese immigrants suffered the stress of a dual role - homemaker and worker. Vietnamese males aged 21-45 were better able to adjust than younger and older males. Likewise, Michalowski (1987) found evidence that late adolescent/young adult males were most likely to experience the best adjustment and had a definite advantage over females. On the other hand, Starr and Roberts (1982) found sex to be only spuriously related to subjective adjustment.

2.16 Effect of English skill on subjective aspects of adaptation

Increased linguistic skills may also affect a newcomer's adaptation to other aspects of a new culture. The relationship between proficiency in English as a cause and cultural adaptation as an effect may be mediated by one or more intervening variables, such as the personality of the immigrant, his or her group contacts, or economic resources. Those persons who initially possess a high degree of confidence and a self image consistent with learning a new language may be more motivated to attempt to learn a new language and to risk communication with strangers than persons without such a psychological makeup. An immigrant's skill in the host nation's language can also greatly assist his or her psychological adjustment. The refugee's ability to use the host nation's language can boost his or her self-confidence, and affect behaviour by making it more self-guided and less reactive or dependent.

The rate of learning the new culture and fitting into the social structure is likely to accelerate as skill in the new language increases (Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services, 1978; and implicit in Jones, 1982 and Knudsen, 1983). A Toronto study reported that 90% of refugees interviewed related adjustment problems to a lack of English proficiency (YOUTEC, 1980). A study of Indochinese refugees in Illinois, USA revealed that 92% of persons interviewed hesitated to speak to Americans because of the

language barrier (Young Yun Kim, 1980).

While facility in the English language aids newcomers in achieving financial self-support (which in turn helps achieve other desired ends), lack of English may create problems for newcomers including alienation, low self esteem, or more severe psychological handicaps. Stein (1979) observes that:

> Studies show those making a poor occupational adjustment also acculturate poorly and have fewer American friends and a limited knowledge of English. Some of the least acculturated refugees, the housewives and the aged, are those who have the least contact, through employment or school, with the dominant culture. Among some poorly adjusted refugees, who end up doing menial work surrounded by non-English speakers, live in ethnic communities, and have little contact with the dominant culture, there is evidence of poor mental health, dependency, and other signs of maladjustment. In some cases refugees have been exploited by their employers, been virtual captives or slaves, owing to their inability to speak the language.
>
> (Stein, 1979: 28)

Kutz-Harder (1990) advocated placing refugees immediately into jobs and leaving ESL training until a few months later after initial occupational and self-esteem anxieties had been alleviated.

Two speakers at a recent conference (Toronto, 1990) postulated that the debate as to whether English as a Second Language (ESL) education should be given immediately on arrival prior to labour force entry, or after a job has been obtained, may be a misguided one. Heipel (1990) noted the success of vocationally oriented ESL (job-specific ESL taught at the workplace). Holmes (1990) agreed,

noting the success of this "Host" program wherein female refugees are placed in office and restaurant jobs with mobility opportunities, and advocated ESL at all times (until the refugee was fluent). Bushart (1990) also advocated simultaneous working and ESL training rather than a sequential program. Contrary to Kutz-Harder (1990) he preferred a long term approach wherein persons were not immediately "thrown" into low status jobs but were trained until they could enter the workforce at a level similar to the one they had had in their country of origin.

2.17 Effect of education on subjective aspects of adaptation

Hundreds of studies over the last several decades have shown that education is correlated with income, and recent studies in Alberta have shown that youths' chances of obtaining jobs increase with education (e.g. Creative Employment Development Association, 1984; Statistics Canada, 1984, Table 8). Similarly, regarding immigrants, Richmond (1974 review of literature) and Samuel and Woloski (1985) found a positive correlation between education on arrival and occupational adaptation. In the case of Third World immigrants, however, since many are forced initially to take low status jobs at the minimum wage, with any foreign diplomas, degrees or certificates not being recognized, there may be no such correlation for the present sample of refugees with relatively short length of residence in Canada.

According to Richmond (1974) and Starr et al. (1979, 1982), immigrants and refugees with higher levels of education tend to be less subjectively adjusted than those with less education. This may be due to downward occupational mobility with feelings of frustrated expectations, status inconsistency, and relative deprivation.[2] It appears that education will be positively correlated with long term adaptation, especially with economic or "hard" measures of adaptation, but will be unrelated to short term objective measures of adaptation, and inversely related to "soft" (socio-cultural and subjective) aspects of adjustment (especially in the short term and absent a certain level of objective adaptation). Since the present study is not designed to investigate such complexities, a simple relationship is hypothesized.

Richmond (1967, 1974) notes that while subjectively measured satisfaction is correlated with occupational mobility, it is also correlated with degree of social integration and assimilation (in terms of having Canadian born friends). An interesting relation between education, satisfaction, occupational progress and assimilation, was found in Toronto.

> The evidence ... suggests that education is positively associated with all aspects of objective adaptation, but negatively associated with the subjective aspects. In other words, the better educated the immigrant on arrival, the more likely he is to achieve a high occupational status and income ... He will also learn one or both of the official languages more quickly and in other ways become acculturated to Canadian society, including the attitudes, values and behavioural norms of the area in which he settles. The better educated immigrant is more likely to become active in a variety of

> voluntary associations and to make use of recreational and other facilities. At the same time, the better educated immigrant is less likely to settle permanently in Canada, is often more critical and less satisfied with his life in this country.
>
> (Richmond, 1974: 17)

Nguyen and Henkin (1982) found the same inverse relationship between education and subjective adjustment. Specifically, there was a small (but significant, with $p.< .05$) negative correlation between education and attitude to the USA, for the professional-technical wave of Vietnamese but not for the much less educated second wave. There was a significant positive correlation for both groups (+.55 for the first wave and +.59 for the second) between education and perceived acculturation. The authors stated, "educational level is an important facilitating factor in refugee acquisition of new language skills and knowledge of the new culture", but they also said "Acculturation, however, does not necessarily lead to a positive attitude toward the new country." (Nguyen and Henkin, 1982: 112-113)

2.18 Effect of sponsorship on subjective aspects of adaptation

Presumably those immigrants sponsored by a Canadian family will have more of a social-psychological and acculturation advantage than those sponsored by a church or agency, who in turn will receive more attention to personal needs than those sponsored by the Canadian government. Those newcomers sponsored by their

family or close relatives will obviously have the least initial trauma.[3]

Woon (1984, 1987) focussed on how the relationship with the sponsor could have a deleterious effect on the Vietnamese refugee, creating confusion and various feelings including shame, dependency, suspicion, and resentment. The majority of refugees in Victoria preferred government sponsorship to sponsorship by Canadian families. On the other hand, long term effects of sponsorship may be much less than previously thought (cf. Indra, 1989: 9-10).

2.19 Summary of main findings of literature review

Nearly every study which looked at labour force variables found initial high unemployment for Vietnamese refugees in the New World, and for those arriving with high occupational status, there was initial downward mobility. More particularly, English skill affects labour force adaptation.

If one extends the concept of adaptation to the socio-cultural realm as well as the occupational, one finds that the socioeconomic and educational status of immigrants at the time of arrival in the adopted country has an effect on their adaptation.

There may (or may not be) sex and/or age differences in adaptation, including subjectively assessed adjustment. Ethnic clustering (residential or commercial ghettoization) or the lack of

it may be a causal factor in adaptation. The extent of the clustering may be related to the size of the municipality of residence. Long term adaptation may be better in small communities whereas immediate survival may be better in cities.

Similarly, the extent of an immigrant's involvement in ethnic social networks may have a causal effect on adaptation.

Adaptation may vary with the ethnicity of the immigrant (i.e. some ethnic groups may adapt socially-culturally and occupationally-economically more slowly and with more difficulty than others). There are apparently interactions between ethnicity and age.

Sponsorship arrangements (type of, or the presence or absence of) may affect adaptation.

Differences between the immigrant's background and his/her new situation in terms of rural versus urban lifestyle may affect adaptation.

2.20 Formal Hypotheses

From the Review of Literature, the following relationships were induced for formal testing. In the following list, the dependent or criterion variable (often a cluster of relevant measures) precedes the verb which specifies a direct (positive), inverse (negative), or null relationship between the variables; while the independent or predictor variable is cited at the end of

the hypothesis.

Satisfaction with Canadian Life

According to Richmond (1974) and Starr et al. (1979, 1982), immigrants and refugees with higher levels of education tend to be less subjectively adjusted than those with less education. This may be due to downward occupational mobility with feelings of frustrated expectations, status inconsistency, and relative deprivation. Therefore it is hypothesized as follows:

H1. Satisfaction with life in Canada varies inversely with educational level at time of arrival in Canada.

Given the many incidents reported (e.g. Edmonton Journal, 27 Feb., 1984) by refugee officials of Vietnamese wives being housewives and/or working in jobs where they don't interact with Canadians and are subject to isolation and fatigue, it is expected that such women would score lower than their husbands on measures of life satisfaction. On the other hand the high unemployment rate among Vietnamese male household heads here in Edmonton in 1983-84 apparently leads to embarrassment within the family, or conflict, and to lowered self esteem and depression. Frustration is expected on the part of teenaged Vietnamese girls torn between the traditional protectionism of their parents and the liberal individualism of the new culture. Given the high labour force participation of

Vietnamese women, it is not inconceivable that some of them could have occupational mobility aspirations. Those who do will find themselves doubly handicapped; being both immigrant and female (Boyd, 1975, 1980, 1984; Michalowski, 1987). For such women, frustration would not be an unnatural reaction. Indra (1988), however, found that self-concept was higher for Vietnamese women immigrants than for men, and if self-concept is a close measure of satisfaction with Canadian life, one would expect the women to be happier than the men. P. Van Esterik (1980) noted that females in SEA culture, while different than males, are not necessarily valued less and are regarded as superior to males in several respects. What would happen when this role differential met Canadian culture and the initial adaptation problems of refugees was too early to say in 1980. Lin et al. (1979) believed that young and old women were relatively sheltered, whereas reproduction aged female Vietnamese immigrants suffered the stress of a dual role - homemaker and worker. On the other hand Vietnamese males aged 21-45 were better able to adjust than younger and older males. However Starr and Roberts (1982) and Strand (1984) found sex to be only spuriously related to psychological adjustment and economic adaptation. Since the literature is inconsistent in regard to which sex is worse off in adapting to the new culture (possibly due to the age-sex interaction discovered by Lin et al.), it is safest to posit the null hypothesis as follows:

H2. Satisfaction with life in Canada is not associated with sex.

Migration research has confirmed the layperson's perception that age is inversely correlated with adaptation to a new culture. Children are inherently more adaptable and receptive to new stimuli than older persons are. An unpublished report by Kwok Chan summarized in the Montreal Gazette 10 Feb.,1982 documents an extreme case wherein some of the older refugees were spending much of their time in a nostalgic reverie, unable to cope with their new situation. Therefore it is hypothesized as follows:

H3. Satisfaction with life in Canada varies inversely with age.

Since "big city" life is known by both social psychologists and laypersons to be more impersonal, fast paced and less friendly than "small town" life, it is hypothesized as follows:

H4. Satisfaction with life in Canada varies inversely with size of municipality of current residence.

Given the presumed advantage that the Chinese-Vietnamese have relative to the ethnic Vietnamese (there being a thriving Chinese-Canadian subculture and economy), it could be hypothesized that satisfaction with Canadian life would be

associated with the immigrant's ethnicity (ethnic versus Sino-Vietnamese). On the other hand, the investigator was told by his Vietnamese assistant that the Chinese-Vietnamese feel a pressure to compete with the established Chinese and that the established Chinese-Canadians have no inclination to assist these new competitors. In fact, they had disdain for the newcomers. A Chinese interpreter from Hong Kong told the investigator that the word "refugee" is so stigmatic that she could not translate it into Chinese lest she insult the interviewees. The field work for this survey, and the paper by Woon et al. (1988) indicated that many Vietnamese-Chinese have changed the spelling of their family names to appear Chinese - Canadian. This all suggests that adaptation may be more difficult for the Sino-Vietnamese than for the ethnic Vietnamese, as was found by Desbarats (1986) and Gold (1989). To test these two competing hypotheses, the null hypothesis is as follows:

H5. Satisfaction with life in Canada does not vary with the ethnicity of the immigrant.

The ethnic social network can provide economic opportunities and friendship opportunities and psychological support, and can create conditions for the individual which will allow her to pursue her interests and realize her self potential. Therefore it is hypothesized as follows:

H6. Satisfaction with life in Canada varies directly with

extent of involvement in ethnic social network.

Presumably those immigrants sponsored by a Canadian family will have more of a social-psychological and acculturation advantage than those sponsored by a church or agency, who in turn will receive more attention to personal needs than those sponsored by the Canadian government. Those newcomers sponsored by their family or close relatives will obviously have the least initial trauma. Therefore it is hypothesized as follows:

H7. Satisfaction with life in Canada varies according to type of sponsorship.

Socio-Cultural Adaptation

Given the many incidents reported by the press and agency directors of Vietnamese wives being "trapped in the home" or working as housewives by day and janitors by night, it is clear that such women will have much less opportunity than their husbands to interact with Canadians and to learn Canadian culture. (Contrarily, males are more independent and likely to be outside more often, in sports teams more often and employed more often than females.) Also, since young (under 21 years) and old (45 plus years) Vietnamese females are more sheltered in the home, such females may be expected to acculturate more slowly than males of all ages. All of this suggests that female Vietnamese refugees will not adapt socio-

culturally as well as their male counterparts. However the research reviewed above suggests the opposite. Therefore it is hypothesized that there will be a sex difference, but no "direction" is specified in the following:

H8. Socio-cultural adaptation varies with sex.

One may expect that the greater diversity and stimulation of urban life might lead to faster acculturation for newcomers, or, conversely, that the greater intimacy of nonmetropolitan life, with people being more involved with each other and more interested in strangers, would lead to faster acculturation. In order to test these competing hypotheses no direction (i.e. "direct" or "inverse") is hypothesized:

H9. Socio-cultural adaptation varies with size of municipality of current residence.

Given that there is already a large Chinese-Canadian subculture, and many Chinese-Canadians have become successful in business and academia and are entering the traditional professions, it may be hypothesized that the Chinese-Vietnamese will learn Canadian culture faster than their Vietnamese fellows. On the other hand, personal information stated to the investigator by his staff and interested third parties indicates that the established Chinese-Canadians have no sympathy for the refugees. This would forestall any

cooperation by the former toward the latter, vitiating any hypothetical advantage over the ethnically Vietnamese. Desbarats (1986) and Gold (1989) found that the Sino-Vietnamese acculturated worse than did the ethnic Vietnamese. Therefore it is safest to posit a null hypothesis as follows:

H10. Socio-cultural adaptation does not vary according to the ethnicity of the immigrant.

An ethnic social network can provide an immigrant with social and psychological support (Murphy, 1965; Starr et al., 1979; Van Esterik and Van Esterik, 1988), as well as providing new friends or potential spouses, the perpetuation of the homeland's diet, music, dance, holy days or festivals, religion and related rituals, and news about the homeland as well as information about the host culture and local job opportunities (Buchignani, 1977; Finnan, 1983). It might be presumed that such social and psychological support would "arm" the immigrant or "immunize" him or her against culture shock or traumatic alienation, such that such an immigrant would be better able to adapt to the new society. On the other hand, such intra-ethnic involvement may provide such comfort and scope that it becomes a self-sufficient lifestyle, leaving the members with no need or inclination to adapt to the host culture (Pisarowicz and Tosher, 1982: 77; Cox, 1985: 83). Ghettoization in the socio-cultural sense (with or without any residential concentration) may make it easy for

immigrants to survive in the new land without integrating (Richmond, 1972; Nguyen and Henkin, 1982). This would be especially likely in Canadian cities where the concept of multiculturalism is an official federal policy also adhered to by municipal politicians seeking the ethnic vote. To test these competing scenarios on the present sample, the null hypothesis is warranted:

H11. Socio-cultural adaptation does not vary with extent of involvement in ethnic social network.

Presumably those immigrants sponsored by a Canadian family will have more of a social-psychological advantage than those sponsored by a church or agency, who will in turn receive more attention to personal needs than those sponsored by the Canadian government. Those newcomers sponsored by family or other relatives will obviously experience the least initial trauma and have less incentive to immerse themselves in Canadian culture. Therefore it is hypothesized as follows:

H12. Socio-cultural adaptation varies according to type of sponsorship

Economic (including Labour Force, Financial) Adaptation

Hundreds of studies over the last several decades have shown that education is correlated with income, and recent studies in Alberta have shown that youths' chances of obtaining jobs increase with education (Creative Employment

Development Association, 1984; Statistics Canada, 1984, Table 8). Similarly, regarding immigrants, Richmond (1974 review of literature); Samuel and Woloski (1985) found a positive correlation between education on arrival and occupational adaptation. In the case of Third World immigrants, however, since many are forced initially to take low status jobs at the minimum wage, with any foreign diplomas, degrees or certificates not being recognized, there may be no such correlation for the present sample of refugees with relatively short length of residence in Canada. Strand (1984) in a regression study of Vietnamese refugees who had been in the USA up to eight years found that education level did not predict the dependent variable of employment/unemployment. Similarly Wooden (1991) found that when education (and other common "predictors" of economic adaptation) was controlled for, it had no effect. Given the uncertainty, a null hypothesis is appropriate:

H13. Economic adaptation does not vary with educational level.

Samuel (1987), generalizing from various Canadian surveys, found a much lower unemployment rate for Vietnamese refugees in urban centres than in non-urban, and evidence of remigration. Indra (1988: 72) found that in Alberta the vast majority of the Vietnamese refugees who were sponsored in small cities, towns and villages moved to the nearest large city as soon as their term of sponsorship expired. This was

secondarily motivated by a desire to join relatives and ethnic social networks, and primarily induced by the wish to take advantage of perceived better employment opportunities in the larger cities. The same is true of SEAs who found themselves in non-metropolitan localities in other parts of Canada. However none of the aforementioned studies existed in 1982 when the hypotheses for this thesis were defended before the dissertation committee, and this writer was unable to obtain a copy of the 1988 studies until Dec. 1991. Moreover the above reports were not unanimous and definitive that the vast majority of remigrants found themselves in better financial situations. Hence it was decided that the null hypothesis should be used:

H14. Economic adaptation does not vary with size of municipality of current residence.

As was discussed under H5 and H10, it is unclear whether or not the Chinese-Vietnamese have any advantage over their ethnically Vietnamese compatriots given that the existing Chinese-Canadian subculture and economy may provide an inroad or may be an obstacle in that the established Chinese-Canadians see the Chinese from Viet Nam as commercial enemies. It could even be that the Chinese-Vietnamese are motivated by the need to compete with the established Chinese to work even harder than the ethnically Vietnamese. Desbarats (1986) and Gold (1989) found that the Sino-Vietnamese were economically

worse adapted than the ethnic Vietnamese even after all other variables were controlled for, and even though in Viet Nam the Chinese had been successful entrepreneurs. Given uncertainty over the direction of any relationship, the null hypothesis is warranted:

H15. Economic adaptation does not vary according to the ethnicity of the immigrant.

It is unclear whether language skill is a principal "cause" of employment and better jobs, or whether employment and better jobs are the main cause of improved language skill. Probably both hypotheses are valid and the relationship is best described as a spiral rather than a simple line with two time points. Woon (1987) reported a tendency to enroll in ESL classes but then to drop out in order to work; immediate employment being the highest priority. However jobs requiring virtually no English are generally of low status, so immediate employment may create long term problems of economic adaptation so long as English skill does not significantly improve. Given such uncertainty no direction is intended in the following formal hypothesis:

H16. Economic adaptation and English skill are positively correlated.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed salient sociological concepts and terminology, and has summarized the research on immigrant (mostly SEA refugee) adaptation, culminating in the formation of hypotheses. The next chapter (chapter three) describes the design of the survey and the fieldwork methodology, as well as the methodology used to test the hypotheses.

ENDNOTES

1. Also regarding subjective aspects of adjustment as a function of education see Portes (1969), Richmond (1974), Starr et al. (1979), Starr and Roberts (1982), Melendy (1982), Nguyen and Henkin (1982),and Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982).

2. Also regarding subjective aspects of adjustment as a function of education see Portes (1969), Richmond (1974), Starr et al. (1979), Starr and Roberts (1982), Melendy (1982), Nguyen and Henkin (1982),and Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982).

3. Sources for this assertion include Montero (1979), Jones (1982), Lam (1983), Samuel (1987), and conversations by the author in 1989 with members of churches in Richmond Hill, Ontario who had sponsored Vietnamese ten years earlier, and with one Claire Patton, a former staff member of CEIC Settlement Services, Toronto Region.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents descriptions of the survey instrument which was administered to the Vietnamese refugees, the interview staff employed by the researcher, the methods used to access the subject pool and determine its size and proportional distribution, the analysis of the representativeness of the sample and the coding techniques. This chapter also includes a description of the analysis methodology.

3.1 The instrument

The survey instrument consisted of a structured interview schedule containing 235 questions and 19 other pieces of information that interviewers coded themselves. Design, pretesting and revision of the instrument took from January through October of 1983. Several of the questions dealing with culture and occupation are based closely on those used by Richmond (1967) and on those used in the 1974 Manpower and Immigration study, which itself appears to follow Richmond's questions closely. The final part of the questionnaire consists of Goldberg's General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) and questions on family discord, anti-social behaviour, etc. Many of the new

questions were based on previous studies of South East Asians conducted in other provinces. In addition, questions were suggested by Ms. Anne Falk (Director of Edmonton's Mennonite Centre for Newcomers), by Ms. Laura Ho (Head of the Learning Resource Centre of Alberta Vocational College in Edmonton, where thousands of immigrants study English), by Dr. Michael Lanphier (Coordinator of York University's Ethnic Research Program), and by Ms. Karen Fingas (Director of Alberta Settlement Services).

The author originally intended to use several of the questions of the unpublished 1981 Alberta Manpower study (actually conducted by Mrs. Ann Sunahara) but nearly all of these had to be dropped or greatly revised when it was discovered by this author's staff and in the pretest that these questions had been improperly translated and/or simply didn't "work" in the "field". Thus the present study is not a replication of the 1981 survey in content or in methodology, and so few comparisons are possible between the two sets of results that it was decided not to make any.

3.2 The staff

A team of five Vietnamese Canadians and two Chinese-Vietnamese Canadians were hired and trained to interview a sample of Vietnamese in their homes. Most of the interviews were conducted by three females and two males on these teams. The

instrument was translated into Chinese characters and into Vietnamese by interpreters who worked closely with the investigator to ensure that the intent of each question was conveyed.

3.3 Sample size

The "IMM-1000" database compiled by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission includes data on initial residences of immigrants in Canada. The author had access to certain "sanitized" (nameless) portions of this database as part of his job as a Research Officer II with Alberta Manpower, and as a result of cooperation from federal and Alberta officials concerned with immigrant settlement. This database was invaluable in calculating the sample size, but it had limitations. The data for the Vietnamese refugees who arrived in Alberta did not monitor their remigration beyond the point where adjustment assistance was terminated. Moreover, the information was a few months out of date by the time this author could access it. On the basis of discussions with public and private settlement agencies which were dealing with the refugees, the author felt it reasonable to assume that there was some remigration from rural to urban places within Alberta. It also seemed reasonable to assume that the level of remigration out of Alberta to other provinces (especially British Columbia and Ontario) was at least

equal to the emigration rate for the province as a whole (estimated by the Alberta Bureau of Statistics as 15%).

The author then applied a formula to obtain the sample size n. The actual formula is Q / (h)(h) + Q/N, where Q = p(1-p) (Z)(Z), p = estimated proportion of responses to any two-category questions, crudely set as 0.5 (corresponding to a null hypothesis), h = specified acceptable half width of confidence interval, here designated as 0.05 for a total of 1% around the anticipated mean response, Z = 1.96 (standard deviations representing 95% confidence, or alpha level of 0.05) and N = population of the universe. (This formula derives from Neter et al., 1988: 455.)

The universe (N) was known from the IMM-1000 database to be about 3000 Vietnamese refugees in Alberta North of Red Deer at that time. This simple calculation indicated that a sample (n) of 340 would be needed to meet the confidence level specified above.

In the planning stages of the study there were no assurances that a fully representative sample of the target group could be obtained. Therefore, in order to allow for remigration and to obtain a sample which was as representative as possible of the Vietnamese refugee population as a whole, the investigator determined to carry out generous oversampling and targeted a quota of 500 persons.

Inspection of the quarterly IMM-1000 data (from the original

wave of Boat People circa 1979 to the most recently available at the time the sample was designed), supplemented by the remigration trends reported by settlement agency officials, indicated that about 80% of the Vietnamese refugees still in Alberta were living in metropolitan areas. Twenty percent were in nonmetropolitan areas. To create a systematic sample, 400 interviews in Edmonton and 100 interviews in the rest of Northern Alberta would have been required. However a sample size of 100 was considered too small for the nonmetropolitan subsample, insofar as a six-by-five column table with an expected frequency of five responses per cell would require a sample of 150 for a Chi-Square to be calculated. Therefore it was decided to apportion the 500 interviews as follows: 350 in Edmonton and 150 elsewhere in Northern Alberta. For the purpose of this study, the City of Red Deer marks the division between Southern and Northern Alberta. The sampling frame in the study was all of Alberta north of the Red Deer city limit.

As it turned out, there is good reason to believe that the interviewers were able to interview all but a handful of the Vietnamese (including Sino-Vietnamese) adults in the sampling frame outside of Edmonton. From the IMM-1000 computer data tapes and update reports from Settlement Services, and information obtained by the interviewers in their travels outside Edmonton, it was estimated that there were no more than 165 Vietnamese

adults living in the non-Edmonton sampling frame. Of those, 148 or 90% were actually interviewed. (Of the target of 150 interviews, 148 or 99% were completed). In the City of Edmonton, 389 interviews (111% of the target of 350) were completed. In all, 537 interviews were conducted, producing a "safety margin" of 197 more than the previously calculated minimum of 340.

3.4 Sample sources and data collection

No comprehensive list of refugees in Alberta was available but an attempt was made to construct a facsimile from a diversity of sources. Specifically, Alberta Manpower had a record of the names and birthdates of all the South East Asians who arrived in Alberta in 1979 and 1980. Alberta Health Care (AHC) had a record of the current addresses of the refugees for whom it paid the first year's health care premiums, and also a record of those who now paid their own premiums. The Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) had on file the addresses of the refugees to whom it paid adjustment assistance (i.e. those federally sponsored and in Canada less than 366 days). Catholic Social Services (CSS) kept a list of the many Vietnamese in its caseload. It was hoped that from all these sources a fairly comprehensive list could be compiled of all South East Asians in Alberta as the sampling universe. However for reasons of confidentiality this information could not be shared directly

with the author. AHC, CEIC and CSS did offer to mail out letters to persons on their lists, asking them to fill out forms and return them to Alberta Manpower if they were willing to be interviewed. This latter procedure was followed with AHC, and a form letter was composed in Chinese and Vietnamese characters. From the printout of names obtained from AHC tapes compiled in 1979-1980 a systematic random sample was created of persons who would have been 18 or more years of age as of September, 1983, and who were living in Alberta north of Red Deer. Forms were sent to 300 adults, but only 40 were received back from the addressees.

CEIC offered to distribute a similar form letter at its field offices to Vietnamese who came in to collect their assistance cheques or to receive employment counselling. A modified version of the AHC form was distributed to CEIC field offices, but none of the forms were returned. As it became apparent that no truly random target sample would be possible, a modified opportunity sample with a quota was used. Sources of interviewees were as follows.

Edmonton Immigrant Services Association provided the names, addresses and telephone numbers of twelve Vietnamese and ten Chinese-Vietnamese refugees. The Director of the Mennonite Centre for Newcomers, Ms. Anne Falk, provided access to their very large client list and permitted interviewers to station

themselves at the Centre to conduct on-the-spot interviews. These two procedures proved highly successful.

In order to complete a systematic sample of respondents it was necessary to also access persons outside the Mennonite Centre. An attempt to contact all the Vietnamese sounding names in the Metropolitan Edmonton Telephone Directory proved unsatisfactory for several reasons. Many of the Vietnamese were using Chinese surnames and there were too many Chinese-Canadians listed to phone them all to screen out the Chinese-Canadians. Husbands were reluctant to talk to female interviewers. Wives refused to be interviewed without their husband's permission, and the husbands, not being home as often, proved very difficult to contact via callbacks. There was a general reluctance to reveal personal information over the phone to strangers, apparently compounded by the general suspicion by Third World immigrants of government record keeping or information gathering. Ultimately the interviewers lost their motivation due to the frustration and time delay experienced in trying to contact people by phone. Indeed most of the interviewers found the assignment bizarre and uncomfortable, perhaps for cultural reasons, and only a few showed much motivation. The amount of work for the author in trying to coordinate this effort so that each interviewer would have a unique set of names to contact (to protect interviewees from being harassed by multiple callers) was disproportionate to

the meagre results obtained.

Such obstacles prompted some of the interviewers to become more creative. One team (a male and female) knocked on doors in a predominantly Vietnamese area of Edmonton while another interviewer specialized in enlisting the aid of school principals who had Vietnamese students. Vietnamese Catholic priests and Bhuddist Monks assisted some interviewers by introducing them to parishioners and encouraging participation. All the interviewers used their own personal networks as much as possible and were encouraged by the author to be bold in using the "snowball" technique, especially after completing an interview in a home.

Once the Edmonton interviews were completed, the equally difficult task of obtaining the nonmetropolitan sample began. Time and financial constraints precluded interviewing in distant municipalities where less than seven potential interviewees resided. Specifically, no attempt was made to contact the Vietnamese (if any) in the distant municipalities of High Prairie, Slave Lake or Peace River. Given that altogether only 31 adult refugees had been sent to those locales in 1979-80, and that fieldwork and other data indicated about 67% of Vietnamese in such places had since migrated out, it was calculated that there were ten adult refugees in all three areas combined.

Interviews were conducted in the following fourteen municipalities: Barrhead, Camrose, Cold Lake, Edson, Grand

Cache, Grand Centre, Grand Prairie, Lloydminster, Neerlandia, Ponoka, Rocky Mountain House, Saint Paul, Vegreville, and Whitecourt. In these places, the following sources of locating potential interviewees were used: the few consent forms received from the AHC mailout; telephone directories; English language instructors; Provincial Health Units; churches who had sponsored refugees; Alberta Manpower field offices; and CEIC field offices. From these potential sources, it was possible to obtain at least seven names for each community, the practical minimum to justify a trip. Interviewers in fact found that this number could be "snowballed" on-site to knowledge of virtually all the Vietnamese in the community. In the fourteen municipalities interviewers were able to interview all but seven eligible interviewees.

3.5 Sample representativeness

The varied and unorthodox methods of obtaining interviewees resulted in a sample which appeared to be quite similar to the universe, characteristics of which were known thanks to the author's access to the federal IMM-1000 databank. It bears emphasizing that the present study has the unusual advantage that the universal distribution was known on sex, ethnicity, education, age, length of residence, immigration class and marital status. Specific comparisons between the sample and universe (adult Vietnamese in Alberta) are found in Table 1. The

right most column labelled "difference" refers to Duncan's index of dissimilarity, which has been an accepted statistic since 1955. As a rule of thumb, an index value of 10% or less is acceptable to indicate no significant difference between two distributions.[1] In only one category of Table 1 (education) is this 10% level slightly exceeded, meaning that the only minor concern is that the sample is, overall, slightly more educated than the universe. While minor deviations from perfect representativeness are inevitable, the slight overrepresentation of the highly educated is a common occurrence in surveys.

Thus, although the sample was derived by a "shaped opportunity" rather than a random method, the persons interviewed for this study are considered to be generally representative of the Vietnamese who came to Alberta since 1979, within the limits of the available bases for comparison. Given that the present sample is a known proportion of the universe, although not a simple random sample it can be considered a probability sample. According to Neter et al. (1988: 456), probability samples can be more efficient than simple random samples if they offer the same precision at less cost or greater precision at the same cost, for a given confidence level. Confidence in the representativeness of this sample allows the use of standard probability tests of statistical significance in the ensuing factor and regression analyses.

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF SAMPLE AND UNIVERSE ON DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES

Attribute	Sample	Universe	Difference
Gender			5%
Male	61%	56%	
Female	39%	44%	
Ethnicity			7%
Sino-Vietnamese	45%	38%	
Vietnamese	55%	62%	
Education			11%
0 - 6 years	20%	31%	
7 - 12 years	58%	58%	
over 12 years	22%	11%	
Age			8%
18 - 24 years	23%	30%	
25-44 years	62%	54%	
over 45 years	15%	16%	
Length of residence Cda.			6%
under 1 year	8%	14%	
1 - 2 years	10%	10%	
2 - 3 years	15%	13%	
3 - 4 years	36%	36%	
over 4 years	31%	27%	

table continued on next page

continuation of Table 1

Immigration Class			2%
Designated Class	87%	89%	
Assisted Relatives & Family Class	13%	11%	
Marital Status			5%
Married	55%	45%	
Not married	45%	55%	

3.6 Special Coding

To minimize the problems in coding answers to questions dealing with training and occupations, interviewers did not code Canada Census Dictionary of Occupations (CCDO) categories. One person, perfectly trilingual, was hired and trained by a CCDO expert at Alberta Manpower to code the six questions on vocational training and occupational histories.

Since the Ethnic Social Network (ESN) and current English skill variables are of major import in this study, a brief description of their derivation is warranted. ESN is an intervally scaled index derived by summing the responses to the questions on number of relatives who arrived with the respondent, number of new Vietnamese friends made in Alberta, and number of "old" Vietnamese friends in Alberta (whom the respondent already knew from Viet Nam). This total is multiplied by whether or not the respondent lived in a Vietnamese ghetto (no = 1, yes = 2) and also multiplied by the home origin of the respondent's friends (Viet Nam, Cambodia, or Laos = 3, other Asian origins = 2, and a residual group consisting primarily of Caucasians = 1). This somewhat arbitrary formula was used to create an index wherein higher scores correspond to greater ESN involvement.

The English test score also derives from an interval-scaled composite index. The score represents the respondent's sum of scores on a test of English comprehension and a test of English

fluency. For the latter test, seven Vietnamese attending English as a Second Language classes (ESL), (beginner, intermediate and advanced) were asked to describe the differences between life in Edmonton and in Viet Nam. In special training sessions led by the investigator, interviewers listened to tapes and independently scores them according to categories obtained from the ESL test material supplied by the Learning Resources Centre at Alberta Vocational College. The dimensions being scored included fluency, structure, vocabulary and pronunciation. Pretesting indicated a need to measure comprehensibility of the English spoken by respondents, because even interviewers sometimes had great difficulty understanding the respondents' English. Similarly, respondents sometimes used properly pronounced English words incorrectly, such that their sentences made no sense. For these reasons, additional dimensions of comprehensibility and vocabulary usage were added to the scoring and coded in the same way as the original four dimensions, for consistency.

During the training sessions interviewers shared their ratings with the group after each round of private ratings (on the six dimensions) for each tape recording. A lively process of mutual critique was repeated about five times for each recorded speech until consistency of ratings was obtained for each of the six dimensions for all seven speeches. The rationale for this

pragmatic methodology was that it was simpler and more "down to earth" than the inter-rater reliability testing and scoring commonly used in social psychological research. Compared to a post hoc weighting of data obtained on each interview schedule, which would have complicated and added to the cost of the analysis, this pragmatic method ensured that all interviewers would behave similarly in the field. Thus it is felt that the scores obtained on English ability are objective measures which are consistently rated, although they cannot be compared to those of other surveys.

3.7 Data Processing

The interviews were completed over a period of twenty weeks. Each interview took from 40 to 80 minutes. Each questionnaire was inspected after completion, usually at the end of the same day, and problems were clarified by contacting the interviewer. A content analysis was performed on the open-ended questions after a sufficient number had been completed to provide a suitable overview, and coding categories were duly set for those questions. When all the open-ended questions, Canada Census Dictionary of Occupations (CCDO) employment and training questions, and certain calculated variables (such as ESN and English score) had been coded at Alberta Manpower offices, the raw data were keypunched, verified and entered into the

University of Alberta computer. After "cleaning" the raw data file, basic statistical analyses were performed by the author in the Spring of 1984 via the well known SPSSX software "package". Multivariate analyses were performed by the author in the summer of 1985 at the University of Victoria (British Columbia), with the gracious provision of computer account funds by that university's Dept. of Sociology. Belated discovery of defects in the factor analysis matrix (due to missing data) and a belated decision to use dummy variables for the nominal category variables, and a decision to test for certain possible interaction effects, and the desire to perform separate analyses for three subsets of adjustment (rather than an omnibus scale), all necessitated the re-doing of the multivariate analyses in the summer and fall of 1991. This was accomplished by the author using the computer at York University (Toronto) and with the assistance of a graduate student in psychological statistical methods.

3.8 Introduction to analysis methodology

After some initial choices including path analysis had been discussed and rejected during the winter of 1981-82, it was decided to use discriminant function analysis as the method, to "distinguish between" best and least adjusted refugees on a single omnibus measure (scale) of adjustment. However as the

project evolved over the next decade it became apparent that valuable information would be unnecessarily lost by collapsing the dependent variable into a simple dichotomy. Therefore it was decided to use stepwise multiple regression analysis to capture all variation on the dependent scale. The regression was to be preceded by a factor analysis, the purpose of which was to select a relatively small number of variables to be the components of the dependent scale. Finally, in late 1990, it was decided to abandon the idea of an omnibus scale of adjustment, and to induce via the factor analysis, guided by the literature review, three scales measuring different aspects of adjustment. The three scales would then be subject to regression analysis. This process is described in detail later in this chapter. The independent (more properly called predictor) variables are discussed first of all, however.

3.9 The predictor variables

Eleven predictor or "independent" variables were chosen from the literature review and from discussions with academics, bureaucrats and settlement service directors. The variables selected were:

1) English progress[2]
2) Education[3]
3) Marital Status (current)
4) Sex
5) Age (current)

6) Size (population) of municipality of current residence

7) Ethnicity (Sino or indigenous Vietnamese)

8) Ethnic Social Network involvement (ESN)[4]

9) Sponsorship Type

10) Length of Residence in Canada (months)

11) Exit trauma[5]

Before performing the multiple regression using these 11 independent or predictor variables it was necessary to convert the four nominal (categorical) variables to n - 1 dummy variables, where n = number of valid values in the original variable. All dummy variables have the values 0 or 1. For example, sex was converted from a scale of two (1 = male, 2 = female) to a sole dummy variable with values 0, 1. Similar modifications were made for ethnicity (after deleting the five Cambodians and one Thai, since none of these persons could be considered either Chinese or Vietnamese). Thus there is one dummy variable for ethnicity (whose values could be labelled "Vietnamese" and "Sino-Vietnamese"). In the case of marital status, the category "married, but spouse absent" was combined with "widowed, divorced, or separated" due to low responses in both categories. Thus the scale was reduced from four to three nominal categories (single/never married, married with spouse present, other), resulting in two dummy variables.

In regard to sponsorship, the small number (13) of respondents who had been sponsored by Canadian families had to be deleted as the literature indicated important differences

according to "government", "own family or relatives", "ethnic / religious / charitable association", and "Canadian family" sponsorship. Thus it would have diluted the results to combine "Canadian family" with any of the other three categories. Thus there are 3 - 1 = 2 (rather than 4 - 1 = 3) dummy variables for sponsorship. The final list of predictor variables is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

REVISED (FINAL) LIST OF INDEPENDENT (PREDICTOR) VARIABLES

1.	English progress
2.	Education
3 & 4.	Two dummies for marital status
5.	One dummy for sex
6.	Age
7.	Size of municipality of residence
8.	Exit trauma
9.	One dummy for ethnicity
10.	Length of residence in Canada
11.	Ethnic social network involvement (ESN)
12 & 13.	Two dummies for type of sponsorship

In order to perform a sophisticated regression analysis, the number of potential predictors was not restricted to the above thirteen. It was anticipated that there might be some first order interaction effects worth investigating. Rather than an unwieldy and speculative attempt to simply create all first order interactions by multiplying each of the above thirteen variables with each other (one half of the combinations of a 13 X 13 matrix), it was decided specifically to investigate the possible interactions cited in Table 3.

The criteria for deciding whether or not to put a variable into the list in Table 3 were simply what the author thought would be possible and most likely from a cause-effect basis and would be of theoretical interest and merit discussion if confirmed. There was also an arbitrary attempt to minimize the total number, simply to keep the labour involved in the analysis to a feasible and practical level.

TABLE 3

INTERACTIONS CHOSEN FOR ENTRY INTO REGRESSION ANALYSIS
(ESN = ethnic social network)

1. Sponsorship dummy1 X age
2. Sponsorship dummy2 X age
3. Exit trauma X age
4. ESN X education
5. ESN X sex dummy
6. ESN X age
7. ESN X municipal size
8. English progress X age
9. Ethnicity dummy X sponsorship dummy1
10. Ethnicity dummy X sponsorship dummy2
11. Length residence Cda. X sponsorship dummy1
12. Length residence Cda. X sponsorship dummy2
13. Sex X marital status dummy1
14. Sex X marital status dummy2
15. Education X ethnicity dummy
16. English progress self-rating X education
17. English progress self-rating X sex
18. Sex X age

3.10 The dependent variables

Prior to performing multivariate analysis, it was necessary to construct the dependent scales. The three main aspects of adjustment to Alberta life chosen for study were satisfaction with Canadian life (mostly subjectively assessed), socio-cultural adaptation, and economic status. (The latter includes financial and labour force participation data.) The obvious problem that arises is how to measure and "operationally define" these three main concepts.

From the review of literature and from suggestions from interested academics, government officials and managers of agencies which dealt with refugee settlement and/or English training, a large list of potential dependent variables was compiled. Exploratory (as opposed to confirmatory) factor analysis was the method used to refine this list to the dependent scales required for multivariate analysis.

3.11 Factor analysis

There were several hundred original (survey) and calculated (post-survey) variables available as possible dependent variables. It was therefore necessary to delete many of these variables from the inventory prior to performing the regression analysis. The criteria used to reduce the number of variables were as follows.

Variables with less than 200 valid responses (due to inapplicable responses and the occasional failure to answer an

applicable question.) were deemed ineligible for inclusion The second criterion was that variables whose responses clustered excessively in one category must be deleted, on the simple ground that such a variable would not vary enough to contribute meaningfully to the factor analysis. (For example, the question dealing with child care problems had 279 applicable and non-missing responses, but 202 were "0" and 77 were "1". Similarly, there were 470 valid answers to the question regarding number of accidents incurred at work, but the response was "0" for 429.) As it happened, all variables which survived both criteria had over 320 responses. The net was 42 variables available for inclusion into the analysis. It should be obvious that the number of significant variables appearing in the factor analysis output is less and varies according to minimum loading specified and maximum number of factors allowed.

The option of pairwise deletion of missing values was chosen for the initial factor matrix after an attempt using listwise resulted in a sample of only 161 respondents. Regression runs were also made using mean substitution for missing values. These results were found to be very similar to the pairwise results, but since a sample size of 327 was still available using the pairwise method it was decided not to study in detail the results of the mean substitution method. The latter method had, of course, the maximum possible sample size of 537 but was qualitatively inferior insofar as substituting an average value in place of a missing response is artificial. Moreover the mean

substitution option can reduce variance available for analysis, and create distorted results which are compressed around the means.

Several extraction options are available with the SPSS factor analysis program, including maximum likelihood, principal components, image, principal axis, and unweighted least squares. Preliminary test runs revealed that choice of method made no appreciable difference to the results, although the maximum likelihood and principal components results seemed easier to interpret in that the clusterings were "tighter" and made more intuitive sense. Ultimately maximum likelihood was chosen for the final runs as it seemed to provide a slightly "tighter" clustering than the principal components method.

A similar "experimental" or "exploratory" process of choosing the number of factors was used. For the initial runs no limit was set on the number of factors although it was hoped that most variables would cluster into three factors. Subsequent runs specified fewer and fewer allowable factors. Inspection of the graphs showed that three factors had eigenvalues exceeding 2.0, there was a steep linear drop in eignenvalues between the fourth and seventh factor, and starting with the eighth factor (eigenvalue 1.33), eigenvalues decreased gradually and steadily to 0.5 with factor 33. Thus it seemed reasonable to choose the maximum likelihood run specifying three factors (and a minimum eigenvalue of one) for final analysis. Moreover, allowing four, five, six or seven factors resulted in few variables uniquely in

each factor, and made naming of the factors almost impossible given that similar variables were distributed across the several factors. Thus interpretability of the results was another reason for selecting the maximum likelihood run with three factors.

Within each main type of factor analysis, further options are available. The author selected the suboption of "orthogonal rotation with varimax" after a statistical expert at the University of Victoria advised that such would be appropriate insofar as the present factor analysis was not intended to be compared to any other, and since his (unpublished) research had revealed very little difference between options for given databases. Moreover in this study the rotated version of the final run selected was far easier to interpret than the unrotated. The final factor analysis run (with loadings below 0.25 suppressed for readability and as a minimum level for inclusion in the dependent scale construction) is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

FACTOR ANALYSIS RESULTS (ROTATED)

Variables with loadings below the set minimum (0.25) omitted

variable name loadings:	factor 1	factor 2	factor 3
Current monthly pay	.952		
Pay at best Cdn. job	.943		
Avg. hourly work week	.599		
% work which was part-time	.562		
Net income per mo.	.460		
# appliances, etc. owned	.332		.313
English skill score		.820	
Perceived English improvement		.773	
Self-rated English on arrival		.654	
Blishen score for best job		.443	.331
# English lessons taken	-.319	.395	
Willingness to return Vietnam		-.341	.298
Rank of job training problems		-.305	
# friends, except close		.300	
Job satisfaction rating			.604
Overall satisfaction rating			.479
Salary rating (subjective)	.312		.458
Current job v. expectation			.452
Job helps acculturate?		.310	.413
Job utilizes skills?			.312
Job security rating			.306
# incidents of prejudice			-.299
Upward mobility score			.271

3.11(a) Factor analysis results

Inspection of Table 4 allowed the author to name the three clusters as "economic adaptation", "socio-cultural adaptation" and "subjective adaptation" respectively. This confirmed the initial expectation that these were the three main aspects of adaptation.

It can be seen that the first cluster (labelled "economic") consists of (1) current gross monthly pay, (2) the pay at the best Canadian job (same as previous if current job is the best yet), (3) average number of hours worked per week at current job (if any), (4) the percent of time, measured in months, in Canada wherein the respondent was employed (with "part-time only" counting as 1/2 month), (5) respondent's monthly income compared to expenses (simple 3 point rating), and (6) the number of appliances, home entertainment or recreational devices possessed by the respondent.

Cluster 2 (labelled "socio-cultural") includes (1) present English ability measured by the score on the scale, (2) respondent's own assessment of his/her progress in English since arrival, (3) respondent's estimated English skill on arrival in Canada, (4) Blishen score of the respondent's best Canadian job, (5) number of weeks of English lessons taken by respondent, (6) whether respondent would return to Viet Nam if the Communists were overthrown (higher number equals "never", presumably indicating most adaptation in Canada), (7) respondent's ranking of any job training problems (lower number corresponds to most

serious problems, accounting for the negative polarity of the loading), and (8) number of friends, excluding close friends, the respondent now has in Canada.

A question worth asking is why the loading for willingness to return to Viet Nam in Table 4 has a negative sign. The author has been unable to devise any explanation for this apparent anomaly.

The composite English index within the second cluster often appears in research as a predictor of adaptation, with highly significant results. In the present survey this variable is conceptualized as a component of the dependent variable. It is submitted that the reason that studies which use English skill as a predictor of adaptation, be it social, cultural or economic, is that English skill is an aspect of that adaptation. In other words those studies are suffering from a tautology. Moreover, given that English skill has so often been shown to be a major predictor of adaptation, it would be redundant and trite to use English skill as a potential predictor in the present survey. Also, it would be negligent not to use it as a measure of adaptation, and it would then be senseless to then also include it as a predictor.

Cluster 3 ("subjective adaptation") includes (1) satisfaction rating of present job on a simple five point scale, (2) respondent's felt satisfaction with overall life situation, (3) respondent's rating of present wages from "not good" to "very good", (4) respondent's perception of whether present job is

worse, better or the same as expected, (5) extent to which respondent thinks present job helps him/her acculturate, (6) extent to which respondent's present job involves utilization of any skills respondent was trained for, (7) respondent's perception of his/her present and near future job security, (8) number of incidents of apparent discrimination or prejudice experienced by respondent in Canada (hence the negative polarity of the loading insofar as more incidents corresponds to decreased adaptation), and (9) upward mobility defined as Blishen score on present job divided by score on first Canadian job (which could be unity if no job change, or negative in event of downward mobility).

As seen in Table 4, there are at least two variables which seem to have "ended up" in the "wrong" cluster. Specifically, Blishen score of best job, and a question on job training are in the socio-cultural adaptation cluster rather than economic adaptation or subjective adaptation. This may be due to inter-correlations of factors and exemplifies the difference between reality and the social scientist's tendency to construct ideal types and to search for order and patterns which accord with these conceptions. The empirical findings must be accepted as they are on the ground that if one chooses a research method it is improper to subsequently ignore or tamper with the findings when they don't provide "neat and clean" results. While it is naive to mystify factor analysis and presume that the factors exist in reality (although one assumes that the attitudes or

behaviours measured by the factors do), the responses to the questions comprising the factors certainly exist, as do the statistical relationships which form the factors. The point is that the factor analysis results are functions of the questions asked on the survey, and changes in the questions will affect the results. Thus in assessing the results of this study (to be presented in the next chapter), the reader should frequently refer back to the above paragraphs to remind him/herself of what questions a given factor consisted of. Failure to do so could result in overly broad conclusions about the three types of adaptation. To name one example, the score on the General Health Questionnaire is not one of the components of subjective adaptation, so the index of subjective adaptation should not be considered an index of psychological adjustment.

3.12 Creation of dependent scales from factor analysis results

The next task is to relate individual survey responses to the desired score on each of the aforementioned three scales. After defining what variables comprise each of the three scales, and with what relative weight (the factor loadings), it is necessary to score each Respondent on each scale.

One could simply define a new variable (i.e. the score on the given scale) as the sum of scores on the variables comprising the scale, or as the average of those scores. The former method would be acceptable for constructing a scale or index wherein the sum was crucial regardless of the mix of components involved in

arriving at that sum (which would vary according to respondents). An example is a health fitness score comprised of measures of muscle strength, endurance, flexibility and cardio-vascular components. The latter method is a variation of the former, which crudely compensates for the differing (per respondents) proportions in the mix by "washing them out" across the sample via averaging for each respondent.

The method chosen for this study, however, was to weight the variables (comprising each scale) according to their contribution to the scale. This method is obviously arithmetically and logically more impressive but it does have the possible disadvantage of somewhat restricting the results to any sampling or factor analysis peculiarities. The former two methods are said to allow the researcher to more confidently generalize.

The methodology used here was easily accomplished as follows. The variables comprising each cluster were (a) multiplied by the loading of each variable on the factor (see Table 4), (b) summed, and then (c) divided by the number of variables in the cluster. Thus each dependent scale is a weighted average of its component variables, which thereby gives a dependent scale score for each respondent.

3.13 Regression methodology

The regression was run using pairwise deletion of missing values, for an sample size of 327, for the very same reasons as discussed above for the factor analysis. Simply, the listwise or

casewise method reduces the sample size so low that the correlation matrix becomes unstable, and the mean substitution method preserves the full sample size but in an artificial manner.

The regression was run stepwise, i.e. predictors entered in descending order of power, controlling for effects of all others. Listwise or "forced" insertion of variables was rejected because any attempt to specify an order would have been arbitrary, given the present state of the literature. Simultaneous entry would provide information on the unique power of each variable controlling for all others regardless of their relative predictive powers. This would be artificial, as in reality no variable has a unique effect, and valuable information (such as obtained by the stepwise method) would be lost. The method of minimizing residual variance was chosen from various options.

For consistent comparison across each of the three dependent scales, every regression run included the same recodes, "compute" statements, and independent variables (including specified interactions). However, as will be explained in the next chapter, an additional computer run was necessitated after the results for H16 were analyzed.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodology of both the survey and the analysis. The next chapter contains the regression findings and results of the hypotheses testing, and a discussion of them.

ENDNOTES

1. In actuality, this limit varies according to sample size, number of categories within the sample, and when two samples from a universe are compared: Lalu and Krishnan (1992).

2. Self-rated, derived from respondent's rating of his/her comprehension, speaking, reading and writing ability (ordinal scales) at time of arrival in Canada and at time of interview.

3. Total years of academic or formal vocational schooling or apprenticeship, at time of arrival in Canada.

4. See section 3.6 of this chapter, above.

5. This variable derived from a simple question "Was your trip from Viet Nam to the first refugee camp or first country of asylum..." followed by the following forced choices coded as follows: Traumatic or terrible = 1, Some problems = 2, Smooth and easy = 3.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study. Firstly, the choice of options selected for the regression analysis is explained and justified. Secondly, three brief general descriptions of the stepwise multiple regression results (one for each of the three dependent scales) are presented. Thirdly the results of the testing of the sixteen hypotheses are presented, and fourthly these findings are discussed. The narrative appears in the numerical order of the hypotheses, such that there are actually sixteen discussions. For ease of reference, a simple restatement of the result of the hypothesis test precedes each discussion.

As was explained at the beginning of chapter two, for consistency the word "adaptation" is favoured, but occasionally the discussion refers to "adjustment". This is done when the sense is more psychological or subjective than sociological or objective, or because the author of the study cited used "adjustment" (even for something more accurately described as "adaptation" using the distinction just outlined). Rarely, "adjustment" is used for stylistic purposes, when the word "adaptation" would otherwise appear too often in one sentence, or in a general sense as opposed to the technical sense associated with empirical measures.

4.1 Options selected for the multiple regression analysis

Stepwise entry of independent variables is the most common multiple regression option used in survey analysis since it allows the researcher to see in what order (of descending predictive power) the predictor variables enter the linear additive equation. Therefore the findings reported in this chapter derive from stepwise multiple regression.

In this study two methods of coping with missing data were initially used. The pairwise method matches pairs of respondents who made valid responses for variables which are being compared, rather than deleting any respondent who lacks valid responses on every variable. (The latter would result in a very small number of remaining respondents.) In this study use of the pairwise method resulted in 327 valid pairs of responses.

In contrast, the mean substitution method preserves the full sample size of 537 by substituting the mean of responses to a given variable whenever a response on that variable is missing for a given respondent. Obviously this method is not as accurate as the pairwise technique and can be criticized as an artificial way to preserve sample size.

In terms of testing the hypotheses, and in terms of simple inspection of the computer output, the method of handling missing data was found to make no substantive difference. In fact, there were virtually no differences in terms of the number of significant predictor variables, the actual variables, and their order of entry into the stepwise equation, when results of the two options were

compared. Since 327 is a large number in the context of survey research with random or quasi-representative samples it was not felt necessary to "inflate" to 527 by using the less scientifically conservative option of mean substitution Thus only the "pairwise" method results are reported.

It was necessary to decide on an "alpha" or confidence level (1 - alpha = p) in interpreting the data. Prima facie one might decide that smaller samples deserve more conserva-tive p values. e.g. a p of <.01 or <.02 for the runs of 327 compared to a less rigorous p of <.05 or <.10 for the runs of 537. However due to the way sampling formulae are constructed, the larger the sample the smaller the Pearson product-moment r correlation needed to achieve a given significance level. Thus the likelihood of obtaining a significant r increases with sample size. For the sake of scientific conservatism one should require a smaller p for larger samples and allow a larger p for smaller samples, assuming one is unaware of any sampling defects. With the foregoing in mind, a p value maximum of .01 was set for the runs involving 537 respondents, and a slightly more tolerant level of .02 was set for runs involving 327. As noted above, inspection of the output led to the decision to report only the results of the latter set of runs, so all references to significance in this chapter refer to a p value of .02 or less.

4.2 Basic regression results

The data reported in the Table 5 reveal that for the dependent

scale of subjective adaptation the most important predictor variable was size of municipality of current residence, followed by marital status, the interaction of sex and marital status, interaction of age and trip trauma, interaction of age and ethnic social network involvement (ESN), ESN itself, and interaction of English progress and education.

The regression analysis for the dependent index of socio-cultural adjustment is found in Table 6, wherein the following variables appear in descending order: education, age, length of residence in Canada (duration), interaction of sex and marital status, interaction of English progress and sex, and trip trauma.

The results of the regression analysis for the index of economic adaptation (Table 7) indicate the most powerful predictor to be duration, followed in descending order by sex, education, marital status, and the interaction of sex and marital status.

TABLE 5

STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION RESULTS: SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION

Pairwise Method for Missing Data
(n for each run = 327)

predictor variable	b	std. error	B	T	sig. of T
MUNIPOP	-.000	.000	-.197	-3.51	.0005
MSTAT2	.131	.037	.209	3.60	.0004
INT4*MS1	.148	.061	.136	2.43	.0155
INT5*7	-.001	.000	-.140	-2.49	.0134
INT10*5	.000	.000	.518	3.31	.0010
ESN	.007	.003	-.420	-2.64	.0086
INT1*2	.004	.002	.174	2.83	.0050
INT2*8	-.006	.003	-.125	-1.99	.0470
constant	.729	.056	N.A.	13.11	.0000

steps to converge = 8, mult. R = .410, squared = .167

equation F = 7.91, p = .0000

Note: b = regression coefficient or "slope"; B = standardized b, being the slope of the least squares regression line when the independent and dependent variables are expressed as Z scores, calculated as "b" X "standard deviation of independent variable" / "standard deviation of dependent variable"

Key:
LGTHRESC = duration of residence in Canada, in months
RSEX = sex
EDVIET = no. years formal education or vocational training on arrival in Canada
MSTAT = marital status (two dummy variables)
ENGPROGR = self-rated progress in the English language since arrival
RACE = name for dummy variable calculated from ethnicity
SPONSOR = type of sponsorship (dummy variables)

table continues on next page

continuation of Table 5

TRIP = degree or extent of trauma experienced in voyage from Viet Nam to initial refugee camp
MUNIPOP = size of municipality of residence in Canada according to population in 1981 Census
ESN = degree or extent of involvement or participation in ethnic social network
INT = interaction (via simple multiplication)

1 = ENGPROGR	6 = MUNIPOP
2 = EDVIET	7 = TRIP
3 = not used	8 = RACE
4 = RSEX	9 = LGTHRESC
5 = AGE	10= ESN

SP1,2 = dummies for SPONSOR MS1,2= dummies for MSTAT

TABLE 6

STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION RESULTS:
SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTATION

Pairwise Method for Missing Data
(n for each run = 327)

predictor variable	b	std. error	B	T	sig. of T
EDVIET	.557	.050	.481	11.23	.0000
AGE	-.117	.018	-.273	-6.47	.0000
LGTHRESC	.060	.011	.213	5.21	.0000
INT4*MS2	-2.196	.560	-.210	-3.92	.0001
INT1*4	.600	.222	.142	2.70	.0073
TRIP	-.465	.201	-.094	-2.31	.0218
constant	5.293	1.056	N.A.	5.01	.0000

steps to converge = 6, mult. R = .696, squared = .484

equation F = 50.0, p = .0000

Note: b = regression coefficient or "slope"; B = standardized b, being the slope of the least squares regression line when the independent and dependent variables are expressed as Z scores, calculated as "b" X "standard deviation of independent variable" / "standard deviation of dependent variable"

Key:
LGTHRESC = duration of residence in Canada, in months
RSEX = sex
EDVIET = no. years formal education or vocational training on arrival in Canada
MSTAT = marital status (two dummy variables)
ENGPROGR = self-rated progress in the English language since arrival
RACE = name for dummy variable calculated from ethnicity
SPONSOR = type of sponsorship (dummy variables)
TRIP = degree or extent of trauma experienced in voyage from Viet Nam to initial refugee camp
MUNIPOP = size of municipality of residence in Canada according to population in 1981 Census

table continues on next page

continuation of Table 6

ESN = degree or extent of involvement or participation in ethnic social network
INT = interaction (via simple multiplication)

1 = ENGPROGR	6 = MUNIPOP
2 = EDVIET	7 = TRIP
3 = not used	8 = RACE
4 = RSEX	9 = LGTHRESC
5 = AGE	10 = ESN

SP1,2 = dummies for SPONSOR MS1,2= dummies for MSTAT

TABLE 7

STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION RESULTS: ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

Pairwise Method for Missing Data
(n for each run = 327)

predictor variable	b	std. error	B	T	sig. of T
LGTHRESC	.120	.015	.367	7.78	.0000
RSEX	-4.145	.626	-.376	-6.63	.0000
EDVIET	.285	.085	.212	3.35	.0009
INT2*8	-.114	.054	-.131	-2.11	.0353
MSTAT2	2.273	.610	.208	3.72	.0002
INT4*MS1	3.468	1.108	.183	3.129	.0019
constant	2.915	.985	N.A.	2.97	.0033

steps to converge = 6, mult. R = .560, squared = .314

equation F = 24.45, p = .0000

Note: b = regression coefficient or "slope"; B = standardized b, being the slope of the least squares regression line when the independent and dependent variables are expressed as Z scores, calculated as "b" X "standard deviation of independent variable" / "standard deviation of dependent variable"

key:
LGTHRESC = duration of residence in Canada, in months
RSEX = sex
EDVIET = no. years formal education or vocational training on arrival in Canada
MSTAT = marital status (two dummy variables)
ENGPROGR = self-rated progress in the English language since arrival
RACE = name for dummy variable calculated from ethnicity
SPONSOR = type of sponsorship (dummy variables)
TRIP = degree or extent of trauma experienced in voyage from Viet Nam to initial refugee camp
MUNIPOP = size of municipality of residence in Canada according to population in 1981 Census

table continues on next page

continuation of Table 7

ESN = degree or extent of involvement or participation in ethnic social network

INT = interaction (via simple multiplication)

1 = ENGPROGR	7 = TRIP
2 = EDVIET	8 = RACE
3 = not used	9 = LGTHRESC
4 = RSEX	10 = ESN
5 = AGE	SP1,2 = dummies for SPONSOR
6 = MUNIPOP	MS1,2 = dummies for MSTAT

4.3 Results of the hypotheses testing

It will be recalled from the end of chapter two that H1 predicts that satisfaction with life in Canada varies inversely with the refugees' education. This anticipated relationship is not supported by the data, however. As shown in Table 5, there is a significant regression coefficient relating the dependent scale to the interaction of education and self-rated English language progress, but the sign for this relation is positive rather than negative.

The second hypothesis presented at chapter two, section 2.20, states that satisfaction with Canadian life does not vary with the refugees' sex. This prediction is sustained by the data shown in Table 5, although there is a significant relationship between the dependent scale and the interaction of sex and marital status.

The third hypothesis states that satisfaction with life in Canada varies inversely with age. This hypothesis is not substantiated by the data shown in Table 5, although the interactions of age with "trip" (exit voyage trauma), and with ESN (ethnic social network involvement) are both significantly related to the subjective satisfaction scale.

H4 states that satisfaction with Canadian life varies inversely with size of municipality of current residence. This prediction is supported by the data in Table 5, and confirms the "friendly small town, impersonal big city" hypothesis, in contrast to the opinion that subjective attractions such as ethnic ghettos

make cities more desirable.

H5 holds that satisfaction with Canadian life does not vary with ethnicity of the refugees. This hypothesis is substantiated by the data shown in Table 5, showing no significant relationship between race (the dummy variable for ethnicity) and the dependent scale.

H6 states that satisfaction with Canadian life varies directly with extent of involvement in the ethnic social network (ESN). This hypothesis is not supported by the data in Table 5, because ESN appears as a significant predictor with a negative sign. That is, low ESN participation correlates to high satisfaction. There is, however, an interaction effect involving age and ESN on the dependent index.

H7 states that satisfaction with Canadian life varies with type of sponsorship. This is rejected by the data in Table 5, which shows no significant relationship between sponsorship and the dependent scale.

The next group of hypotheses (presented at the end of chapter two) deal with socio-cultural adaptation as the dependent construct. H8 states that socio-cultural adaptation is a function of the refugees' sex. This is rejected by the data reproduced in Table 6, although there are significant interactions involving sex and marital status, and sex and English progress, in regard to the dependent variable.

H9 states that socio-cultural adaptation varies with the size of the municipality the refugees reside in. This hypothesis is

rejected by the data shown in Table 6, wherein municipal size is not a significant variable.

According to H10, socio-cultural adaptation does not vary with the refugees' ethnicity. This is sustained by the data shown in Table 6, which does not indicate race (the dummy variable for ethnicity) as a significant predictor.

It will be recalled from chapter two, section 2.20, that H11 states that socio-cultural adaptation is not a function of the refugees' degree of involvement in the ESN. This prediction is sustained by the data shown in Table 6, wherein no significant relationship between ESN and the dependent scale exists.

H12 holds that socio-cultural adaptation varies with type of sponsorship. This hypothesis is not supported by the data in Table 6, wherein the dummy variable for sponsorship fails to appear.

The remaining hypotheses deal with economic/financial and labour force variables as the dependent scale. H13 states that economic adaptation does not vary with educational level of the refugees. This null hypothesis is rejected by the data in Table 7 because education appears as a significant positive predictor of economic adaptation. Moreover there is evidence that education interacts with ethnicity in regard to the dependent scale.

H14 states that economic adaptation does not vary with size of municipality of residence. This null hypothesis is sustained by the data shown in Table 7, wherein municipal size does not appear in the list of significant variables.

According to H15, economic adaptation does not vary with the immigrants' ethnicity. The results presented in Table 7 sustain this, insofar as race (the dummy variable for ethnicity) fails to appear.

H16, the final hypothesis, anticipates that economic adaptation is positively correlated with ability in the English language. This is not supported by the data in Table 7.

It may be noted that for the sake of consistency across all twelve runs, self-reported English progress was used. Conceptually one might consider the objective score on the scale of current English skill, described at chapter three, section 3.6, a better measure of English ability. (This scale appeared as one of the dependent variables in socio-cultural adaptation and was thus excluded from the list of independent variables.) An extra computer run using English skill instead of English progress was in fact used to analyze economic adaptation, but the same result of no relationship ensued. Thus the hypothesis must be rejected.

Table 8 summarizes the foregoing.

TABLE 8

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF HYPOTHESIS TESTING

Dependent Scale	H #	Result
	1	rejected
	2 (null)	sustained in part
	3	rejected
SUBJECTIVE	4	sustained
ADJUSTMENT	5 (null)	sustained
	6	rejected
	7	rejected
3 of 7 hypotheses received support		
	8	rejected
SOCIO-CULTURAL	9	rejected
ADJUSTMENT	10 (null)	sustained
	11 (null)	sustained
	12	rejected
2 of 5 hypotheses received support		
	13 (null)	rejected
ECONOMIC	14 (null)	sustained
ADJUSTMENT	15 (null)	sustained in part
	16	rejected
2 of 4 hypotheses received support		

In total, 7 of the 16 hypotheses received some support.

4.4 Discussion of hypothesis testing

As reported in the previous section, the first hypothesis, which anticipates that satisfaction with life in Canada varies inversely with education at time of arrival in Canada, is not supported by the data. Table 5 shows that education is not a significant independent variable. In fact it does not appear at all in this context. The interaction of education and self-rated English progress (INT1*2) is significant in Table 5, but this is a positive rather than inverse relationship. Refugees with relatively low education (or job training) and low self-rating on English language progress score relatively low on satisfaction, compared to refugees with the most education or training and the highest self-rated English progress, who score relatively high on measures of subjective adaptation. This result is surprising and means that this study has failed to support the view that expectations of refugees are so high that their initial low placement in the labour force makes them unhappy, especially for those with the most education or training. (See studies reviewed in chapter two, sections 2.8, 2.10 and 2.17.) It must be noted that as Beiser (1990) did not find this relationship, the present result can be considered a partial replication of his findings. It is worth remembering that the dependent scale "subjective adaptation" in this study is unique, which renders comparisons to the results of other studies difficult. The present methodology can be described as a search for the best predictors of the index of subjective adaptation, and not as a narrow analysis of the relationship

between education and job satisfaction.

The null finding for H1 means that the more commonly assumed and reported positive relationship between education and adaptation (variously measured) is also not replicated here. This is not because of failure to control for length of residence, as this and all other independent variables were controlled for in the regression runs. The positive relationship between subjective adaptation and the interaction of education and self-rated English progress does, however, provide some support for the opinion that refugees with higher education and perceived progress in English feel better adjusted, while those with lower education and perceived English progress feel less adjusted. H2 states that satisfaction with Canadian life is not associated with sex. Table 5 shows that sex does not appear as a significant independent variable, such that this hypothesis cannot be rejected. The finding of Starr and Roberts (1982) that sex does not affect the distribution of scores on general mental health measures is supported. However the interaction of sex and marital status (INT4*MS1) is significant in Table 5. Thus sex does play a role in subjective adaptation, but only in conjunction with marital status. Given the coding used, it appears that single males are least satisfied, and married females are most satisfied, with married males and single females in between.

This set of findings can be compared with the literature, keeping in mind that no other study uses the same index of subjective adaptation as appears in the present study. Boyd (1975,

1980, 1984) and Michalowski (1987) posit that female immigrants are worse off than male immigrants, which would lead one to expect in the present context that females would be significantly less satisfied than males. However Lin et al. (1979) seemed to say that young females had less role stress than some other age-sex groups of immigrants, and Indra (1988) reported that Vietnamese female immigrants had higher self-concepts than males. Woon et al. (1988) found that while some adult, female, married-with-children refugees were isolated in their homes, whereas others had paid jobs outside the home and it was their husbands who felt "trapped" and "lonely". Chan and Lam (1987b: 38) also mention this "role reversal". The Woon et al. (1988) research team also found that women and children learned English and other key aspects of the new culture faster than did males and elders. Adult females seemed to quickly adopt the attitudes and lifestyles of modern Western women. Dorais (1988) found young adult females to be better off than males and elders of both sexes, for similar reasons.

Thus there are several studies which indicate that females are poorly adjusted compared to males, several contradictory studies, and two studies (Starr and Roberts, 1982 and the present one) which show no "pure" sex difference in subjective adaptation. Further research is needed before confident generalizations can be stated about whether male or female refugees adapt best. Indeed it may be that sex (a physiological variable) is never important in social, psychological and labour force research. Rather, what is important are socio-cultural role frustrations and rewards (and

even some rules of law) deriving from role expectations attached to sex (alone and in complex interaction with physical appearance, age, marital status and socio-economic status).

H3 states that satisfaction with life in Canada varies inversely with age, and this hypothesis is rejected "with reservations" by the data in Table 5. That table shows that age per se does not appear in the list of predictors, although the interaction of age with trip trauma (INT5*7), and the interaction of age with ESN (INT10*5) are both significantly related (negatively and positively, respectively) to the subjective satisfaction scale. These results indicate that younger refugees with least exit trauma are most satisfied, and older refugees with most exit trauma are least satisfied. At the same time, younger refugees with least ESN involvement are least satisfied, and older refugees with most ESN involvement are most satisfied. Thus the present data do not clearly support the hypothesis, although they do support Chan and Lam (1987b), who found:

> ... significant age differences in the nature and degree of preoccupation with the past among our refugee respondents . ... the most acute loss was of a closely knit and cohesive social network comprising kin, neighbours, friends and acquaintances. ... For the older persons, that is, those 35 years old or beyond, the sense of loss was multi-facetted, and was sometimes all encompassing. ... Their emotional and psychological identification with the community within which they were raised, educated and socialized was strong and deep, and had far-reaching ramifications. ...
> Upon arrival in Canada, the basis on which our older refugee respondents traditionally built their sense of personal competence and self esteem had been largely destroyed.
>
> (Chan and Lam, 1987b: 35-36)

Following what is stated at the end of the previous paragraph, age may be so closely linked with sex (Lin et al., 1979; Rao et al., 1984; Michalowski, 1987) that looking at either variable in isolation may be misleading. Starr and Roberts (1982) and Strand (1984) found sex to be only spuriously related to adjustment, and perhaps the same can be said of age (a physical measurement) as was said above regarding sex.

H4 states that satisfaction with Canadian life varies inversely with size of municipality of current residence. Table 5 shows that municipal size is the most significant predictor, and has a negative "sign" or polarity. Thus the hypothesis has been sustained. The regression analysis found no significant relationship between municipal size and socio-cultural adaptation (see Table 6), nor between municipal size and economic adaptation (as will be mentioned below regarding H14). Taken together these three findings may mean that it is advisable for policy makers to allocate refugees (at least those from Vietnam who arrive in areas similar to Alberta) to non-metropolitan abodes because the refugees will experience relatively more subjective adaptation and be no worse off economically or in terms of socio-cultural adaptation.

H5 holds that satisfaction with Canadian life does not vary with ethnicity of the refugees. Table 5 shows that RACE, the dummy variable for ethnicity, does not appear at all, thereby supporting the hypothesis. This finding does not necessarily contradict those who thought that the Sino-Vietnamese would feel less alienated or culture shocked than the ethnic Vietnamese due to the prevalence of

ethnic Chinese in Canadian cities. This is because the main components of subjective adaptation in this survey are job related (perceived satisfaction etc.) rather than cultural variables or psychological variables related to emotion. On the other hand, self concept in our society and apparently also for many Vietnamese newcomers is related to one's occupation, and to this extent psychological variables are being measured by the dependent scale discussed here. Third World emigrants think of Canada as a country with a high standard of living as well as a democracy, so it is reasonable to expect that the Boat People's self-perceived adjustment will to a large degree relate to their occupational adaptation. Given this, the data presented here are a useful comparison of the subjective adaptation of the Boat People, and so the lack of any significant difference between the ethnic Vietnamese and the Sino-Vietnamese on this dependent variable should silence those who think one group has an advantage over the other in this respect. Similarly, as will be mentioned below, hypothesis 15 regarding the null effect of ethnicity on economic adaptation is also supported.

A final comment on the non-relationship between ethnicity and the dependent scales is that one must ask oneself what ethnicity stands for. In the author's previous (circa 1973, unpublished) research on ethnic differences in child health in Toronto, differences apparent from cross-tabulations disappeared when education and other variables were controlled for in multiple regression analysis. The question raised then, and re-posited now,

is whether ethnicity is a unique attribute of individuals or merely a label for a set of values, norms, lifestyles, knowledge and social structure. If one assumes that ethnicity *per se* is a categorical variable, one must ask what it is that distinguishes "Vietnamese-ness" from "Sino-Vietnamese-ness". One might, for example, posit that the Chinese-Vietnamese are more entrepreneurial, skilled in business, wealthy and urban than are the ethnic Vietnamese. The present results tend to either discredit this assumption or to show that even if accurate it makes no difference to the dependent variables. Even so, the discussions under H13 and H15 below do indicate that the interaction of education and ethnicity has some effect on economic adaptation.

The next hypothesis, H6, states that satisfaction with Canadian life varies directly with the extent of involvement in the ethnic social network (ESN). This hypothesis cannot be rejected because the data presented in Table 5 show that ESN is one of the significant predictors, although it ranks behind size of municipality, marital status and three interaction variables. The relationship is negative, however, which means that less ESN involvement relates to better adaptation.

This is an important finding because it contradicts the findings of Murphy (1965), Rogg (1974), Buchignani (1977), Starr *et al*. (1979), Pisarowicz and Tosher (1982), Finnan (1983), Knudsen (1983), Van Esterik and Van Esterik (1988) and Beiser (1990). The present finding means that the opinion that the ESN acts as a "cocoon" to help newcomers feel more adjusted is not supported for

this sample. Rather, the opposing "sink or swim" opinion that newcomers who are "weaned" from the ESN feel better adapted is supported for this sample.

Another explanation is that those refugees who steep themselves in the ESN are only happy when in it, and otherwise are not as satisfied as refugees who are less involved in the ESN. Indeed, dissatisfied or unemployed or culture-shocked refugees may be motivated to maintain a high level of ESN participation. This, however, may lead to further alienation, which in turn can motivate deeper ESN immersion or withdrawal from the host society. The metaphor of a spiral is apt. Thus, depending on the particular point in a person's life when it is measured, ESN may act as either a dependent variable or an independent variable. When a large degree of ESN involvement exacerbates alienation in regard to the host culture, the so-called "cocoon" syndrome exists.

Given that most of the subjective adaptation variables comprising the scale deal with job satisfaction and career expectations (see chapter three, section 3.11(a)), the gatekeeper hypothesis is relevant. A consistent explanation is that for this group of recent arrivals to Canada, the ESN can only offer low-level or "entry" job referrals. A ten year follow-up to this thesis might well indicate that the Vietnamese in Canada have been successful and that their ESN can offer much better jobs to new arrivals.

Also important is the finding that the interaction of ESN and age (INT10*5) is significantly related to subjective

adaptation. Older refugees who are highly involved in the ESN are relatively most satisfied, while younger refugees least involved in the ESN score the lowest on subjective adaptation. It is often difficult to discover cause and effect relationships from correlations, even when (as in the present study) stepwise regression is used to control for intervening variables. It is worth noting that there is no correlation between age and ESN. (Pearson's r = -0.05, which is insignificant.) Perhaps for older refugees ESN involvement (where it exists) helps adjustment, while for younger refugees ESN participation (where it exists) does not assist subjective adaptation.

The finding that older refugees who participate relatively extensively in the ESN are most subjectively adjusted supports the gatekeeper hypothesis in the following manner. Old refugees are retired or supported by children or at a stage in life where they have abandoned hopes of much better jobs, and are also more "stuck" in the "old world" than the more adaptable younger refugees, both of which means that older refugees place more focus on maintaining ESN links than on job satisfaction or upward mobility. Thus these persons rely more on the ESN for overall satisfaction, and may be more satisfied with occupations or income that younger refugees would be unhappy with. It should be understood that while the foregoing does not derive directly from the data, as noted above most of the variables in the scale of satisfaction relate to occupational attainment and expectations.

H7 states that satisfaction with Canadian life varies with

type of sponsorship. Sponsorship does not appear in Table 5 as a significant predictor and thus the hypothesis may be rejected. This is a surprise, as it contradicts or at least fails to replicate those studies which find that sponsorship type is a significant independent variable, e.g. Montero (1979), Lam (1983), Woon (1984), (1987), Chan and Lam (1987b: 30), Woon et al. (1988). Perhaps this means that the effect of sponsorship in other studies was to some extent illusory or spurious. Woon (1987) explains how different types of sponsors led to different outcomes (e.g. economic adjustment, residential clustering, rate of acculturation, feelings of being controlled) which suggests that when other variables are controlled for, sponsorship per se may not be significant. Likewise Indra (1987: 9-10) reviews several previous studies and concludes that sponsorship effects may be minimal compared to what had originally been thought. Perhaps any significant effects disappear over time, after the period of sponsorship has expired.

The next group of hypotheses deal with socio-cultural adaptation as the dependent construct. Hypothesis eight states that socio-cultural adaptation varies with sex. This hypothesis derived from the research of Boyd (1975, 1980, 1984), Lin et al. (1977), Indra (1988) and Michalowski (1987) who discussed the interaction of sex with age as predictive of socio-cultural adjustment.

Table 6 shows that sex alone does not have a significant effect on socio-cultural adaptation. However sex does interact with marital status (INT4*MS2), i.e. single males relatively most

adapted and married females least adapted, and with self-reported English language progress (INT1*4) to significantly affect the dependent variable. This fails to fully replicate the findings of Starr and Roberts (1982) and Strand (1984) who found sex to be only spuriously related to adjustment. An obvious explanation as to why sex and self-rated English skill significantly relate to socio-cultural adaptation is that the sex which learns English faster will be better adjusted. This assumes that self-rating of English has a high correlation with actual English skill. Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient r between these two variables is +0.25 ($p < .001$) which is only moderately large.

The explanation may also be related to self-confidence. The sex which thinks it has made the most progress reports the most socio-cultural adaptation. Moreover the more confident one is of a new language, the more one will try to use it, and this increases competence.) Since the dummy variable for sex was coded male = 0, female = 1, and since the regression coefficient in Table 6 is positive, one might conclude that femininity is related to higher self-reported English progress and together these variables correlate with better socio-cultural adaptation. This conclusion is incorrect, however, because the simple correlation between sex and English progress is zero. Thus it is unclear how sex and English progress interact to affect socio-cultural adaptation.

H9 states that socio-cultural adaptation varies with size of municipality of residence. Size of municipality does not appear in Table 6 as a significant predictor, however, which prompts the

rejection of this hypothesis. One might have assumed that larger cities would lead to greater refugee adaptation due to opportunities for social and cultural interaction, or contrarily (as suggested by Beiser, 1990; Bushart, 1990) that smaller places allow more intimacy and less risk of alienation. Admittedly the variables comprising the socio-cultural index are somewhat disparate but included are English skill (objectively measured) and number of friends (other than very close friends), so this finding that there is no relationship has implications for settlement planners.

H10 postulates that ethnicity (ethnic Vietnamese or Sino-Vietnamese) is unrelated to socio-cultural adaptation. This null hypotheses is sustained in Table 6, which does not indicate ethnicity as a significant predictor of the dependent scale. Incidentally, the ethnic Vietnamese had better English skills (objectively measured), on average, than did the ethnic Chinese, but since English skill is part of the dependent scale one cannot expect this difference to help create a difference between the two independent variables comprising ethnicity. This null finding is also surprising since it fails to replicate the findings of Indra, (1980), Nguyen et al. (1983), Desbarats (1986), Gold (1989) and Beiser (1990). A partial explanation is that this study uses a unique measure of socio-cultural adaptation. Other explanations are that there are differences between the present study and those reported above in regard to how samples were obtained, and in regard to the demographic composition of those samples.

Apparently in Alberta the existing Chinese-Canadian community ignored the Chinese-Vietnamese newcomers, to the extent that they had virtually no advantage over their non-Sino countrymen. In fact Indra (1980: 176-177) also discusses the antipathy of the ethnic Chinese in Canada toward Sino-Vietnamese refugees, and this phenomenon was observed by this author in supervising the data collection and in subsequent job experiences in Toronto. The qualifying adjective "virtually" is important in the foregoing insofar as the discussion regarding H13 and H15 (below) indicates an interaction between ethnicity and education in regard to economic adaptation.

H11, which concerns ESN participation and socio-cultural adaptation, is stated as a null hypothesis. This null relationship is sustained by the data presented in Table 6. Neither the researchers who seem to suggest that the ESN helps initial adjustment (e.g. Beiser, 1990), by "immunizing" against culture shock and allowing for smoother eventual adaptation (Dorais, 1991), nor those who implicitly advocate the "sink or swim" method of forced immersion in the new culture (e.g. Geiger, 1982; Nguyen and Henkin, 1982) to "wean" from the "cocoon" receive support here. A significant positive or negative coefficient is required to support either group, but such a result was not found.

The null result for H11 may be due to the actual level of ESN of the sample. Finnan (1983) mentioned that in California efforts to get Vietnamese refugees to participate in ethnic associations tended to fail from apathy. Haines et al. (1981b)

thought that Vietnamese refugees were less active in ethnic organizations than were refugees from other South East Asian countries. Deschamps (1985: 102, 103) reported that in Quebec the Vietnamese were much less likely than the Laotians and Cambodians to participate in any ethnic organizations.

Comparing the ethnic and Sino-Vietnamese, Indra (1980: 181-184) explains why in Alberta the ethnic Vietnamese were much more active than their ethnically Chinese compatriots in forming organizations. All of this suggests an interaction between ethnicity and ESN. In fact the master correlation matrix indicates a small (+0.192) but significant ($p < .001$) Pearson r correlation between those two variables. A special computer run was done (stepwise-pairwise) using the interaction term for race and ESN on the dependent scale of socio-cultural adaptation. The result, however, was exactly the same as when this interaction was not included. Inclusion of the interaction variable simply made no difference. The same was true when the author added this interaction term to the runs predicting economic and subjective adaptation.

The testing of H11 may be a rare instance where the "controlling" or "partialling out" done by multiple regression is not the best method. In retrospect, it appears that a time frame approach may be better for this particular relationship, i.e. looking at the relationship at different times, via subsamples since re-surveying is not practical, instead of "controlling" for all effects of length of residence.

It was possible to perform a special run to test this speculation. The overall stepwise multiple regression analysis using all independent variables and interactions (except for the duration variable) was repeated, but the sample was divided into the four quartiles on the basis of duration of residence in Canada. These quartiles represent 1 - 32 months residence in Canada, 33 - 41 months, 42 - 50 months and over 50 months, and will henceforth be referred to as duration groups I, II, III and IV. Group sizes were 134, 135, 133 and 135 respondents respectively.

Too low a number of valid pairs for groups I and IV necessitated the use of the mean substitution method for missing data for the economic and subjective dependent scales. For the regression analysis of socio-cultural adaptation, there were enough valid pairs to rely on the pairwise method of handling missing data. This gave almost the same results as the mean substitution method, alleviating any concern about comparing results using a different method of handling missing data.

The results, seen in Tables 9, 10 and 11, clearly indicate that presence and order of significant predictors differs across the four duration groups. Thus duration of residence has an important effect, and one can expect different results depending on how long the refugee respondents have lived in the host country.

Specifically, in regard to subjective adaptation, Table 9 shows a mixture of inconsistent results. The only clear conclusions are that size of municipality is significant for the first three groups but ceases to have an effect for duration group IV, and that

INT1*5 (English progress X age) is an inconsistent predictor, as is whether or not the respondent was sponsored by an ethno-religious organization (SPONSOR2).

TABLE 9

STEPWISE REGRESSION FOR DURATION OF RESIDENCE GROUPS:

SIGNIFICANT PREDICTORS OF SUBJECTIVE ADAPTATION.

group I (< 33 mo.)	group II (33 - 41 mo.)	group III (42 - 50 mo.)	group IV (> 50 mo.)
size	race	size	INT1*5
marital status	INT1*5	education	
INT4*MS1	size	sponsorship	
sponsorship			
marital status			
5 steps	3 steps	3 steps	1 step
mult. RR = .24	mult. RR = .13	mult. RR = .15	mult. RR = .04

Abbreviations:

INT = interaction, using simple multiplication
1 = self-rated progress in English language
4 = sex (dummy variable)
MS1 = first dummy variable for marital status
5 = age
size = population of municipality of residence
mult. RR = multiple R (coefficient of determination) squared.

Notes: Mean substitution was used for missing values. Only variables with coefficients where p for T <.05 are reported. All four equations were significant at p for F <.0001.

TABLE 10

STEPWISE REGRESSION FOR DURATION OF RESIDENCE GROUPS:

SIGNIFICANT PREDICTORS OF SOCIO-CULTURAL ADAPTATION.

group I	group II	group III	group IV
(< 33 mo.)	(33 - 41 mo.)	(42 - 50 mo.)	(> 50 mo.)
education	education	education	age
INT8*10	age	marital status	education
		English progress	INT4*MS1
		INT8*10	
		INT1*5	
		size	
2 steps	2 steps	6 steps	3 steps
mult. RR = .40	mult. RR = .43	mult. RR = .59	mult. RR = .59

Abbreviations:

INT = interaction, using simple multiplication
1 = self-rated progress in English language
4 = sex (dummy variable)
MS1 = first dummy variable for marital status
5 = age
8 = race (dummy variable for ethnicity)
10 = ESN (ethnic social network)
size= population of municipality of residence
mult. RR = multiple R (coefficient of determination) squared.

Notes: Pairwise selection of cases used for missing values. Only variables with coefficients where p for T <.05 are reported. All four equations were significant at p for F <.0001.

For socio-cultural adaptation (Table 10), the significant predictors for duration group I are education and INT8*10 (interaction of ethnicity and ESN), in that order. For group II, education is followed by age. For group III there are six significant predictors, headed by education and marital status (first dummy) respectively. For duration group IV the order of appearance is age, education and INT4*MS1 (sex multiplied by whether or not living without a spouse). Thus the only consistent result is the effect of education. Marital status appears to play an important role only for refugees who have lived in Canada for over 3.5 years. Age seems to be important only in group II and group IV. (Age was not one of the six predictors in group II.)

TABLE 11

STEPWISE REGRESSION FOR DURATION OF RESIDENCE GROUPS:

SIGNIFICANT PREDICTORS OF ECONOMIC ADAPTATION.

group I (< 33 mo.)	group II (33 - 41 mo.)	group III (42 - 50 mo.)	group IV (> 50 mo.)
N.A. The probability of inclusion limit of 0.5 was reached. No variables could be entered or removed.	INT1*4	INT1*4	sex
	sex	size	education
	INT4*MS1	INT4*MS1	MS
		MS	
		education	
		INT2*8	
1 step	6 steps	6 steps	3 steps
	mult. RR = .28	mult. RR = .33	mult. RR = .31

Abbreviations:

INT = interaction, using simple multiplication
1 = self-rated progress in English language
2 = educational level
4 = sex (dummy variable)
MS = marital status
MS1 = first dummy variable for marital status
8 = race (dummy variable for ethnicity)
size= population of municipality of residence
mult. RR = multiple R (coefficient of determination) squared.

Notes: Mean substitution was used for missing values. Only variables with coefficients where p for T <.05 are reported. All four equations were significant at p for F <.0001.

In regard to economic adaptation, it was not possible to compute a regression analysis for duration group I for the reason cited under group I of Table 11. For group II, four significant predictors appear, none of them being INT1*5. For group III there are six predictors. For the final duration group there are three significant predictors: sex (dummy for sex), education, and MSTAT1 (dummy for marital status). This mixture defies generalization, however, and illustrates that different effects take precedence at various stages during residence in the host country.

H12 holds that socio-cultural adaptation varies with type of sponsorship. Table 6 indicates that this hypothesis must be rejected, insofar as sponsorship does not appear as a significant independent variable. Since this finding is contrary to the literature which provided the basis for the hypothesis (Montero, 1979; Jones, 1982; Samuel, 1987; Woon, 1987: 143-144), the lack of replication here may be the result of differences in methodology, especially sampling and operational definitions. Another explanation is simply that the present study supports the conclusion of Indra (1987: 9-10) who, after reviewing several studies, concluded that any effects of sponsorship were minimal or illusory. Presumably as time passes beyond the expiry of the sponsorship period, any effects of sponsorship fade away. (In the multiple regression the effect of time is "controlled for" when the relationship between sponsorship and the dependent variable is measured.)

The remaining hypotheses deal with economic adaptation. H13

states that this dependent scale is not a function of the educational level of the refugees. However Table 7 shows that education is the third most powerful predictor of economic adaptation.

Moreover there is one indication that education interacts with ethnicity to affect the scale. Specifically, interaction term INT2*8 has a standardized coefficient of -0.131, and a T significance of 0.035. This can be interpreted as follows. Refugees who are relatively highly educated (or vocationally trained) ethnic Vietnamese tend to score low on economic adaptation while relatively poorly educated Sino-Vietnamese tend to score high on the dependent scale. Given a strong and significant correlation between education and ethnicity (+0.324 with educational level, with p = 0.000), it appears that the ethnic Vietnamese' relatively higher education did them little good compared to the Sino-Vietnamese on economic adaptation. This is not necessarily a surprise, since in our society business skill is often more strongly associated with income than is education. For example, the author's own five university degrees have not put him in a higher earning situation than that of many Chinese-Vietnamese retail proprietors.

Overall, the null hypothesis must be rejected, and the present study can be said to support previous research (vide literature reviews by Richmond, 1974; Samuel and Woloski, 1985) which found a significant positive relationship between education and economic adaptation.

H14 states that economic adaptation does not vary with size of municipality of residence. This null hypothesis is confirmed by the failure of municipal size to appear as a significant variable in Table 7. Apparently the Boat People adapt financially just as well in a metropolis as in towns and villages. As was discussed above under H4, since subjective adaptation is inversely related to the size of the place of residence in the host society, these data can be interpreted as supporting the initial allocation of Third World refugees to non-metropolitan areas.

H15 is a null hypothesis which cannot be rejected by the data, but which receives equivocal support and therefore merits some discussion. This hypothesis states that economic adaptation is not a function of ethnic differences within the sample of refugees. The findings basically confirm this, insofar as there is no significant relationship indicated between ethnicity and economic adaptation in Table 7. The findings of Desbarats (1986) and Gold (1989) are, therefore, not supported here.

As discussed under H13 above, there is a significant relationship between INT2*8 (the interaction of race and education) and the dependent scale. As was mentioned earlier, the master correlation matrix shows that the simple (Pearson product-moment r) correlation between education and ethnicity is high, positive (+0.324) and significant (p = 0.000). Given that "Chinese" was coded 0 and "Vietnamese" as 1 (for the dummy variable RACE), this means that the ethnic Vietnamese have a higher average education than the Sino-Vietnamese. This could well account for the

interaction, and support the conclusion that education is the more important of the two potential predictor variables. However, for the ethnic Vietnamese the effect of education or vocational training was detrimental to economic adaptation compared to the ethnic Chinese refugees for whom low education corresponded to higher scores on economic adaptation.

It could be that the business skills of the Sino-Vietnamese are offset by the ethnic Vietnamese' higher average education (and English skill, although as will be discussed below it was found not to affect economic adaptation). Thus any advantages of one group over the other are "cancelled out". This may mean that the entrepreneurial or "hands-on" business skills of the Sino-Vietnamese were, for this sample, of more economic benefit to the Sino-Vietnamese than education was for the ethnic Vietnamese. A similar way of conceptualizing the foregoing is to say that ethnicity (namely the "Sino effect") has a contaminating or dampening effect on the positive correlation between education and economic adaptation. Regardless, the overall conclusion is that education is more important for economic adaptation than is ethnicity.

H16, the final hypothesis, holds that economic adaptation is positively correlated with English skill. As explained in previous chapters, the objective measures of English skill, combined into an index, are used as part of the dependent scale of socio-cultural adaptation. (It would have been spurious to use the same index of English skill as both an independent variable and

part of the scale of socio-cultural adaptation in studying the latter, and the statistical results would have defied interpretation.) The only available proxy was the subjective variable "self-rated progress in English" (ENGPROGR), which was therefore used as a slightly inferior substitute in the list of predictor variables in the original computer runs for all three types of adaptation, for the sake of consistency even though the problem only existed for socio-cultural adaptation.

Although there is a significant positive correlation (r = +0.25) between ENGPROGR and English skill on the entire sample of 537, it may be said not to have a substantively large correlation. Even as a measure of English progress from arrival to interview it may be influenced by the respondents' egos or confidence, and by whether the native language was Vietnamese or Chinese. Thus the lack of support for the hypothesis was initially attributed to problems with the use of this particular independent variable.

The Pearson correlation between English skill and economic adaptation is virtually zero (+0.09), meaning that even before controlling for other variables there is no linear relationship between English skill and economic adaptation. Nevertheless separate multiple regression runs, identical to all the others but using English skill in the predictor list instead of ENGPROGR, were conducted both with and without the interaction terms. The terms involving ENGPROGR were simply deleted in one run, whereas in the other English skill was substituted for ENGPROGR in the interaction terms. When terms involving the language variable were not

included, the result was exactly the same as when ENGPROGR had been used, namely no relationship. English skill did not appear in the list of significant predictors.

When English skill was substituted for ENGPROGR in the interaction terms, the order of significant predictors was duration, sex, INTE*4 (interaction of English skill and sex), MSTAT2 (dummy 2 for marital status) and INT4*MS1 (sex and marital status dummy 1). However this appearance of English skill in interaction with sex was the only predictor in the above set which was not significant ($p = .07$). Thus the substitution of English skill for ENGPROGR made no significant difference to the finding of no relationship between the language variable and economic adaptation.

When originally used to test H16, ENGPROGR was considered a poor proxy for current English skill. However Nguyen and Henkin (1982) asserted that the rate of learning the new language is far more important than actual skill on arrival. Thus ENGPROGR may have been an appropriate variable after all.

The rejection of the hypothesis remains a major surprise, given the general finding that education is a significant predictor of economic adaptation. Education and job training have traditionally been correlated with income levels, simply because many highly paid jobs require education and/or training to perform, and because diplomas or degrees are prerequisites to high status positions in modern society. (The research of Wooden, 1991, is a notable exception, as he found education to be spurious in regard

to the economic adaptation of refugees in Australia.) One may presume that if one common phenomenon applies, so should the other, especially since researchers such as Richmond, 1974, Nguyen and Henkin, 1982, Woon, 1987, perceive that education and rate of learning English are highly correlated. Perhaps the present finding is due to the fact that 96% of the sample had been in Canada five years or less (69% four years or less), and were still in occupations which did not require much English skill.

If this is so, however, one must then explain why education made a difference (alone or in an interaction term) to the adaptation scales. This is not a situation where the English skill of the sample was so low as to have no effect. There was a considerable range of scores for the variables that went into the composition of both ENGPROGR and English skill.

Another explanation for the surprising finding is as follows. It is possible to earn a good income in Canada without much English skill (e.g. running a restaurant or wholesale food service, running a factory where the workers are also recent immigrants, working at a skilled blue collar trade which involves mostly machinery rather than social interaction, being a talented artist). In fact a friend of the author tells of a colleague who is very highly placed in the area of computer programming and systems analysis for a major Canadian corporation and who is a South East Asian refugee with minimal English skill. Yet this man, within a few years of arriving in Canada, attained a high level job solely because of his education and superior intellect. Thus high

education (defined to include vocational training) may lead to high economic adaptation even when English skill varies from low to high and by itself has no effect on economic adaptation.

The null finding for English language progress and actual skill on economic adaptation was so surprising that the author decided to perform a similar run for the dependent scale of subjective adaptation. This could be considered a post factum hypothesis that English language skill or progress affects degree of subjective adaptation. (Again, since English skill was not part of this scale there are no problems in using it in the predictor list.)

There was, however, virtually no effect of English skill on the dependent scales reported in Tables I and IV. Specifically, there was no difference at all when English skill was simply substituted for ENGPROGR (with interaction terms involving ENGPROGR deleted), and almost no difference when English skill replaced ENGPROGR in the interaction terms. (The one difference in the latter case was that in contrast to Table I, the interaction of ENGPROGR and education, labelled INT1*2, disappeared). This finding, although surprising, might have been expected by Nguyen and Henkin (1982: 112-113) who said that higher education led to faster acculturation (including English skill), but that higher education did not necessarily lead to a more positive attitude to the new country. In fact the result could be dissatisfaction. At any rate, there appears to be no direct effect of the language variable on subjective adaptation, whether language is measured by

ENGPROGR or English skill.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed the findings. Possible explanations, some admittedly speculative, were provided.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the methodology, followed by comments on the results of the hypotheses testing, some informed speculation and qualitative data regarding the socioeconomic future of the Vietnamese in Canada, recommendations for future research, and a final conclusion which summarizes the foregoing in a very succinct manner.

5.1 Summary of methodology

This thesis has attempted to test 16 hypotheses concerning the adaptation of Vietnamese refugees to life in Alberta, Canada, circa 1983-84. This attempt succeeded, using raw data from a survey of Designated Class refugees in the Northern half of the province. The instrument was a structured questionnaire, which was administered face-to-face to the respondents in their native language by trained persons who were themselves refugees from Viet Nam. The sample was representative of the universe on several demographic criteria, although not randomly selected. (The sampling can be described as "shaped opportunity".)

There were over 250 questions in the instrument, and with post-survey computations and recodings, data became available on approximately 500 variables. Factor analysis was used to reduce the number of variables to be used in the multivariate analysis,

and to derive three dependent scales or indices for regression analysis. The three scales or indices so obtained reflect the multi-facetted nature of the process investigated here, and are labelled subjective adaptation, socio-cultural adaptation and economic adaptation. (The actual labels derive from consideration of the variables included in each factor and from the Literature Review of other empirical studies and of theories of adjustment.) The scales or indices consist of weighted averages of the variables which loaded highly on each factor.

The literature and casual interviews with various experts and interested parties (academics, federal settlement officials, leaders of non-governmental organizations) provided the basis for a list of approximately a dozen "independent" variables which were expected to predict the adjustment of the Vietnamese in Alberta. The actual number of potential predictors was increased by the creation of dummy variables for nominal or categorical variables, and by the creation of simple interaction terms. The literature and personal discussions also were paramount in the formulation of sixteen hypotheses: seven for subjective adjustment, five for socio-cultural adjustment and four for economic adjustment. Stepwise multiple regression was used to test the hypotheses.

5.2 Comments on results of hypotheses testing, and effect on previous research and theories

Of the 16 hypotheses, five were clearly sustained, two received some support, and nine were not sustained by the data. The

rejection of five hypotheses which had been stated in "null" form was not a surprise insofar as the pertinent literature had been equivocal. The lack of clear support for 11 hypotheses is partly attributable to the varying sampling and analysis methodologies found in the research literature, and the lack of a standardized index of adaptation or adjustment in the refugee context.

The effects of education (measured to include vocational training and experience) on economic and socio-cultural adaptation were as expected, but education had no effect on subjective adaptation. This could mean that better educated or vocationally trained newcomers can be expected to adapt more quickly and to a higher degree if measured by traditional criteria such as employment and income, but this may not hold true if one measures the newcomers' subjective adjustment or perceptions about their job, their new life in general etc. While the results did not clearly indicate that better educated refugees felt unhappy or significantly worse about their experiences than did their less educated compatriots, it may be worthwhile for settlement counsellors and advisors to provide some extra attention to the better educated or trained newcomers in regard to their psychological adjustment.

The implications of the foregoing for theories of adaptation are as follows. The traditional view (e.g. Park, 1981; Nguyen and Henkin, 1982; Samuel and Woloski, 1985) that better educated immigrants adapt better economically and socio-culturally is reinforced. Simultaneously, the line of studies (Richmond, 1974;

Starr et al., 1979, 1982; Nguyen and Henkin, 1982) reporting an inverse relationship between level of education and degree of subjective adjustment is also supported. Thus Banton's (1981) assertion that what he calls assimilation is a disjointed rather than uniform process is substantiated.

The lack of a significant effect of the variables "English language skill" (objectively measured) and "progress in learning English" (self-assessed) on the index of economic adaptation was unexpected. Further investigation revealed the same lack of effect on subjective adaptation. The attempt to explain this revolved around the fact that 96% of the sample had been in Canada less than five years. Thus it may be premature to draw any conclusions from this finding, especially since it contradicts most (but not all) research findings. Perhaps the finding is significant in that it means that the effect of host country language skill is over-rated, and that this effect does not "come into play" until a few years have elapsed, if at all.

Another surprising finding was that type of sponsorship had no significant effect on any of the three scales of adaptation. This contradicts the findings of a handful of previous studies (see chapter two at sections 2.9 and 2.18, and chapter four). This lack of an effect for type of sponsorship may be due to differences between this sample and those of several other studies which did find such an effect. However this is not the first study to conclude that the effects of sponsorship differences on adaptation may be spurious or at least much less than was previously thought.

Vide Indra (1987: 9-10). Any effects may simply fade with time, once the period of sponsorship has expired. If this conclusion is correct, it means one less variable for planners to worry about.

Several other variables which were expected to have significant effects on certain dependent scales of adaptation failed to do so independently, but were significantly predictive in interaction with other variables from the predictor list. Sex, age, and marital status were among those variables. For example, the term "sex multiplied by marital status" was a significant predictor in all three scales. It may be noted that sex was significantly inversely related to economic adaptation, a finding predicted by the research literature and by the feminist critique of society in general. Likewise age was significantly inversely related to socio-cultural adaptation. These findings should not surprise anyone, and serve to reinforce recommendations made in the past (e.g. in regard to special services for females and the aged).

Degree of trauma experienced in the original escape by sea from Viet Nam was a significant independent predictor, inversely related to socio-cultural adaptation. The variable "exit trauma" also interacted with age on subjective adaptation, such that the older and more traumatized travellers were most affected. Exit trauma did not affect economic adaptation. The fact that exit trauma was related to relatively worse socio-cultural adaptation, and that for older refugees it affected subjective adjustment, suggests that settlement workers should attempt to identify and assist those suffering from the effects of such trauma.

Perhaps the most interesting findings were in regard to the effect of ethnic social network involvement and size of municipality of residence on subjective adjustment. Both were inverse relationships. Taken together, these findings suggest to policy writers and program planners that smaller municipalities are better places than large cities for Vietnamese, according to the experiences and perceptions of the Vietnamese themselves. This finding can be perceived as supporting the past program of dispersing refugees as well as current plans by several provincial governments to decentralize existing populations.

Another interesting finding was the virtual lack of significant differences between the ethnic Vietnamese and the Chinese-Vietnamese. More specifically, ethnicity had no independent effect on any of the three dependent scales, although the interaction term with education was significant for both economic and subjective adaptation. For settlement planners, this could mean that one need not worry that non-Sino Vietnamese will have a more difficult time adjusting than Chinese-Vietnamese. At the same time one should not assume that the Sino-Vietnamese will have a relatively easy time simply because there are so many ethnic Chinese already established in Canada.

The implications of the foregoing for theories of adaptation are that what matters is not race or ethnicity but more predictive characteristics of the group such as education, social class, prior familiarity with Western culture, and prior exposure to Western occupations or ways of doing business. Congruity between

rural/manual and urban/white collar lifestyles may also be relevant. Attitudes regarding the work ethic and immediate versus deferred gratification may also be much more relevant than skin colour or native language.

Since this thesis was first drafted eight years ago, there has been considerable publicity about Vietnamese gangs and young Jamaican males being responsible for a disproportionate amount of shootings in Vancouver and Toronto respectively. While this is a statistical fact, it would be improper to assume that all or most Vietnamese and Caribbeans are violent. Prior inculcation in a subculture of violence would be much more effective a predictor of maladaptation to Western civilization than race per se. Indeed it is racist to make major assumptions based only on knowing the race or ethnicity of an immigrant group. Studies which report only race or ethnic differences in adaptation, without further breakdown, are reporting on what may be a spurious effect and unwittingly raising more questions than providing answers.

5.3 Prospects for the future of the Vietnamese in Canada In addition to the results of the hypothesis testing, it may be appropriate to provide a few remarks regarding the socioeconomic progress of the Boat People in Alberta, and some informed speculation regarding the future socioeconomic status of the Vietnamese in Canada. The author also wishes to discuss a few items of qualitative information (more "impressions" than "data") gleaned during the course of the study.

Regardless of the adaptation problems documented in this thesis, the author gained the impression that the Boat People in Alberta are hard workers who seem very much at home in the work ethic and the desire to achieve material success. The author had the impression that many of his staff and respondents would within a few years surpass him in income if not in occupational prestige. Indeed many of the refugees had already apparently achieved symbols of material success. The interviewers reported seeing large, well furnished homes and big cars possessed, if not actually fully paid for, by many respondents in the towns some distance from Edmonton. At the end of the project the team's chief interpreter and interviewer supervisor enrolled in a computer science program at the University of Alberta. The author had the impression that the underemployed refugees would gradually regain their former status, and that the struggling entrepreneurs would eventually become wealthy.

Unlike the situation of many of the Convention Refugee claimants pouring into Canada since new legislation came into effect in 1989, there was no indication that any of the Boat People were particularly eager to rely on social assistance instead of working. Indeed full-time employment seemed to be the main goal for many of the women as well as men, and most of the refugees on Adjustment Assistance were eager to become self-sufficient. The high labour force participation rate of 85% replicates the results of the other studies reviewed in chapter two, sections 2.3 and 2.4. The felt necessity to send money or useful gifts (e.g. clothes) to

relatives in Viet Nam put an extra burden on the finances of the sample, but this obligation seemed to motivate them to work harder. Thus if the author were pressed to give a simple answer to the question "How are the Boat People adapting?", the answer would be "quite well considering the economy and other circumstances."

Many groups of immigrants to Canada have developed occupational specialties. For example, immigrants from China, Greece, Lebanon, Italy, India and Ethiopia have opened restaurants. Immigrants from Korea seem to have specialized in neighbourhood convenience stores, while the Poles own and operate hundreds of delicatessens. Sikhs who arrive in Western Canada tend to work on farms in the Fraser delta near Vancouver. Many Philippinos have obtained jobs as nannies in Canada. In Toronto the Portuguese have replaced the Italians as labourers in the construction industry.

The question thus arises as to whether there any occupational specialties of the Vietnamese in Canada. A similar question would be how or to what extent the Vietnamese' former occupations assist them in the Canadian labour market. A detailed analysis of the occupational mobility of the Boat People in Alberta can be found in Montgomery (1986), hence only a few highlights and unpublished observations are provided here.

The respondents to the pertinent survey question represented a wide spectrum of occupational backgrounds. (Coding of data on job in Viet Nam was not possible for 155 respondents who either had no job in Viet Nam or whose job was not one listed in the Canadian Census Dictionary of Occupations, e.g. "water carrier".) Collapsing

the 382 jobs which were coded from seven into two digits revealed that the modal categories were teaching (8.4%), clerical (7.1%), sales (17.0%), processing (10.7%), and assembly or repair (21.7%).

Some groups of immigrants to Canada seem to have specialized in becoming taxi drivers, at least until a better occupation presents itself. However given that only 3.0% of respondents in this study were in the area of transportation in Viet Nam, and that only one respondent was employed as a driver when the survey was done, one does not expect a plethora of Vietnamese taxi, truck or bus drivers.

Since restaurant operation is a popular "ethnic" business in Canada, one may expect many of the Vietnamese refugees to open restaurants. However, while cooking in a wholesale or retail kitchen may be subsumed in the above findings under "processing" (i.e. wholesale food preparation), only 1.1% of respondents had been involved in management or administration in Viet Nam. Given that in Canada running a medium-sized or large restaurant involves managerial and administrative skills beyond merely knowing how to cook, the likelihood is small that a majority of the Vietnamese population represented by the survey would make successful careers in this area.

An inspection of the responses to the survey regarding present job (as of date of interview, late 1983 or early 1984) revealed a broad distribution with little clustering. Of the 331 valid respondents, 14% were in food or beverage preparation (mostly cooks' helpers and waiters), 3% were in sales, 3% were labourers in

the metal processing industry, 4% were sewing machine operators, 4% were vehicle mechanics, and 5% were welders. The modal category (27%) consisted of kitchen helpers, dishwashers, janitors, launderers, and other types of cleaners.

With no cooks or chefs, but with 23% of the respondents involved in the food industry (albeit at a low level such as waiters, cook's helpers and dishwashers), these data suggest that some of the Vietnamese in Alberta would eventually open restaurants or at least graduate to the occupation of cook. When the author moved from Edmonton in mid 1984 there were only a handful of Vietnamese restaurants. Most of the restaurants were in the Little Viet Nam area and were modest one-man operations catering mainly to the Vietnamese.

There were other indicators from the survey data that more than a few Vietnamese might enter the food business a few years hence, concomitant with a steady increase in the Vietnamese population in Alberta. The fact that 17% of the 537 respondents said they were experiencing problems obtaining their favourite type of food, and that 31% said they were having trouble adjusting to Canadian food and cooking, suggested the viability of a future "domestic" market for Vietnamese restaurants and grocery stores.

Since the main clientele would be Vietnamese-Canadians rather than other Albertans, these opportunities could be exploited even if the entrepreneurs lacked the background experience and ability to operate businesses in the British-American manner. Spartan furnishings and decor, and the use of relatives working around the

clock as a communal effort rather than for an hourly wage could allow such businesses to succeed. Moreover, and ironically, some shabby looking "ethnic" restaurants may be perceived as "rustic" and "trendy" by tourists and the middle class.

Moreover it appears that several of the Sino-Vietnamese Boat People have obtained kitchen jobs in "Chinese" restaurants in downtown areas of Toronto. The author was told in Aug. 1992 by a Mandarin speaking immigration lawyer who specializes in clients from the Peoples' Republic of China that most of the restaurants in the newer part of Toronto's Chinatown have Sino-Vietnamese chefs. The style of cooking of the ethnic Chinese in Viet Nam is similar to but spicier than the Cantonese style which non-immigrant Canadians are most familiar with.

The tentative conclusion to be drawn is that, with the possible exception of restaurants, the Vietnamese in Canada have not established an occupational "niche".

Some information on the occupational mobility of the sample may be instructive. The modal response category for former occupations (in Viet Nam) was "assembly and repair", so it may be expected that if the economy allows and if one assumes congruity between past and present occupations, many Vietnamese will work in assembly factories or repair shops. Just over 15% of the sample were doing so in 1983-84. A comparison of the Canada Census Dictionary of Occupations (CCDO) codings for Vietnamese and present Canadian jobs revealed that only 25% of the 239 respondents (for whom data was available on both jobs) were still employed in the

same field (two digit CCDO classification). For those respondents in Canada less than 19 months the figure was 17%, and for those in Canada over four years the figure rose to 30%.

The fields wherein there was at least a 20% replication or overlap (from past to present) were fabrication/assembly/ repair, health/medicine, clerical, services, processing, machining, and "other". There was virtually zero replication for the ten other fields involved. For example, only one of the six respondents who had worked in a "hard science" field in Viet Nam was so employed in Alberta, and for fields such as farming, fishing, art, teaching and sales the overlap was zero.

Since CCDO classifications were made of the respondents' last Vietnamese, first Canadian, best Canadian and present Canadian jobs, and were converted to Blishen scores, it was possible to measure mobility on an interval scale. Indeed that was the reason for the Blishen scoring. However, any "difference score" would obviously be affected by length of residence (especially given the fact that a recession struck early in 1982), and by other factors such as Canadian job training, English language ability, and recognition of foreign credentials, particularly for skilled occupations. Suffice it to say that the simple Pearson r correlation between Blishen scores for Vietnamese job and best Canadian job was +0.39, ($p < .0001$), and the r was +0.41 ($p < .0001$) between Vietnamese and present job. (The latter figure rose to +0.57 for persons with four or more years of residence in Canada.)

Thus there may not be as much downward mobility or

underemployment as one may have expected from the literature reviewed in chapter two, sections 2.3 - 2.9. In fact, as noted above, 25% of the respondents were working in the same field as they had been in Viet Nam, and this percentage increases steadily with length of residence in the host country.[1] Moreover when respondents were asked to compare their present job with what they had expected, 46% responded that the job was about the same or better than expected.

When some of the Vietnamese in the present survey expressed frustration or disillusionment with their labour market situation (such as when only 11% of the employed rated their salary as "very good" and 42% as "not good", and when only 5% were "very satisfied" with their present jobs), it did not indicate an overall lack of motivation toward achieving long term upward mobility. Only 22% of the respondents said they were somewhat or very dissatisfied with their present jobs, which supports this author's impression that the large majority of employed refugees were at least stoic if not optimistic about their current and future labour force status in Canada.

5.4 Recommendations for future research

It is recommended that future studies use an objective measurement of skill in the host country's language, because self-reports and interviewers' impressions or quick ratings proved to be unreliable. The effort expended to construct a valid and reliable scale of English skill proved worthwhile, and future researchers

may find this method to useful as well.

All of the variables which appeared as significant predictors of adaptation had been found in at least some previous studies to predict adaptation, so it is somewhat surprising that some of these variables did not appear as significant in all three dependent scales in this study. Moreover the appearance and order of significant predictors varies considerably according to the three dependent scales. For example, sex was a major predictor of economic adaptation, but not of socio-cultural nor subjective adaptation, age and exit trauma were significant predictors of socio-cultural adaptation only, and size of municipality and ethnic social network involvement were predictors of subjective adaptation only.

The foregoing has important policy-planning implications, and for academics indicates that future studies must break adaptation into components before attempting to discover what independent variables predict adaptation or adjustment. The failure to break the dependent construct into components may account for seeming contradictions among previous studies regarding which variables were significant.

As a minimum requirement for future research, the distinction needs to be made between subjectively and objectively measured aspects of adaptation. Prior to this study there has been relatively little research on subjective adjustment. What studies have been done tend to have been conducted by psychiatrists using psychological tests of individual disorder in the clinical sense.

More appropriate research targets would be behavioural indicators of malaise (e.g. intra-family feuds, alcohol abuse, juvenile delinquency), and self-reports by the immigrants of their adjustment problems in the areas of finance, socialization and acculturation. (If newcomers perceive a problem, it is real for them despite what settlement officials may think.) Observation and semi-structured interviews would be appropriate methods to achieve these goals, rather than the administration of standard questionnaires. Secondary sources of data such as reports from local counsellors and police could be used as indirect data-gathering methods, although the confidentiality of such reports poses a problem of access.

Regardless of method, more research on the subjective aspects of adaptation is needed on the grounds that how the refugees feel about their experience should be considered as important as objective indicators of progress. The latter tend to reflect the values, concerns and expectations of officials and academics from the host society. These perspectives may not be the same as those of the refugees. As a practical matter for immigration planners, how the refugees feel about their experience will affect the number of compatriots who will be sponsored or otherwise motivated to emigrate. Indeed subjective adaptation may be more critical than objective measures in this "chain-pull" form of international migration.

In this study, each interaction term was created by the simple multiplication of two independent variables. Given that there were

several significant relationships between such interaction terms and the dependent scales, non-linear effects were found. Such results demonstrate the importance of investigating interactions among variables. Interaction effects may explain some of the contradictions appearing among various earlier studies, e.g. regarding whether or not a given independent variable was a significant predictor.

These interaction findings also suggest that future researchers may be well advised to investigate curvilinear and other non-linear relationships (e.g. step functions) for predictor variables, especially for variables relating to duration of residence in Canada and level of skill in the host country's language. It is almost trite to advocate that social scientists should do more investigation of possible non-linear relationships, but given the relatively crude state of the research literature on ethnicity, this admonition warrants repeating.

Some of the surprising results of the present study might have been explained if the author had obtained more data on the background characteristics of the sample, especially demographic and economic variables and the reasons for leaving Viet Nam. In retrospect, an excess of information on present situation was obtained, and more information on the refugees' former lifestyles might have bolstered prediction of adaptation. Future researchers may want to limit their collection of possible dependent variables to those used in the dependent scales of this study, and to add to the limited number of potential predictor variables used in this

study.

In regard to background information about the refugees in the present study, survey data was obtained on about a dozen variables including ethnicity, former occupation, and North versus South Viet Nam residence. (A separate mini-analysis of the North-South effect, not reported here, proved interesting but raised more questions than it answered.) Questions regarding the relative standard of living of the former households of the respondents may have proved helpful in measuring socioeconomic mobility. Future research might also benefit from information regarding the population or relative density of the municipality of former residence, and its proximity to the nearest large town or railway station. Reasons for obtaining such information would include the presumption that ex-Saigon residents might adapt less well in nonmetropolitan areas of Canada than would ex-rural residents, whereas the latter type of refugee might adapt better on Canadian farms than in an urban environment.

Questions on size of former household and the present location of its members might prove useful in investigating socio-cultural and subjective aspects of adaptation. Presumably, refugees from a small family who find themselves alone or with one other family member in Alberta would feel less satisfied with Alberta life than refugees from a large family most of whose members were abroad. However the former refugees might adapt socio-culturally faster than the latter.

In regard to reasons for leaving, persons who fit the U.N definition of Convention Refugee (i.e. fleeing persecution) might

adapt differently, especially in regard to subjective and economic aspects of adaptation, than might persons who are simply economic migrants. In reality there are often multiple reasons for emigrating from a Third World country. The prospect of a higher standard of living in the West "pulls" people at the same time as oppression, or risk of persecution based on one of the grounds of the aforementioned definition, "pushes" them. Thus it would be useful in such future research to probe for the main reason for leaving.[2] In particular, questions regarding the migrants' former political opinions (or lack thereof) might have predictive power in regard to adaptation. Presumably persons who supported the Viet Minh or Viet Cong did not flee Viet Nam, but the author was told by his interviewers that there were, in fact, communist sympathizers among the Vietnamese now living in Edmonton.

It is hoped that future research may profit from some of these suggestions.

Conclusion

This survey has investigated the adaptation of a representative sample of Vietnamese refugees in Alberta, Canada. The testing of hypotheses and an analysis of occupational mobility provided various findings, some of which conformed to the results of other studies and some of which were unexpected, but the most general finding and crucial conclusion from this study is that refugee adaptation is not a homogenous phenomenon. Rather, it has multiple aspects. More specifically, breaking adaptation into

components labelled "economic", "socio-cultural" and "subjective" may account for seeming contradictions among previous studies in regard to which variables are predictive of adaptation. Predictors of one aspect of adaptation may not have the same effect, or any effect at all, on other aspects of adaptation. Interaction effects among predictor variables are important and may explain some of the contradictions in the research literature regarding the effects of certain variables.

ENDNOTES

1. Admittedly, cross-cultural differences in the labour market may render some statistical comparisons misleading, despite the considerable effort expended in coding Vietnamese occupations held by respondents.

2. The author's present position as a Refugee Hearing Officer for the federal Immigration and Refugee Board has taught him that it is extremely difficult to decide, in many cases, if someone fits the U.N.
definition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adelman, H.

1982 Canada and the Indochinese Refugees. Regina: Weigl Educational Associates.

Alba, R. D.

1978 Ethnic networks and tolerant attitudes. Public Opinion Quarterly 42 (1).

Alberta Manpower

1981 Indochinese refugee adjustment study. (Unpublished report for Planning Secretariat.) Edmonton: Government of Alberta.

Anderson, G.

1974 Networks of contact. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ashworth, M.

1977 The settlement of immigrants in Greater Vancouver. Canadian Welfare 53.

Ba, T. Q.

1988 The Indochinese of Southeast New Brunswick. Pp. 189-200 in L-J. Dorais, K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Ten Years After: Indochinese Communities in Canada. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Bach, R. L.

1990 Refugee self-sufficiency. Paper presented at conference 'Refugee Policy: A Comparison of Canada and the USA'. May 27-30. Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies and Refugee Policy Group, York University.

Bach, R. L. and R. C. Seguin

1986 Labor force participation, household composition and sponsorship among Southeast Asian Refugees. International Migration Review 20 (2) (Summer).

Banton, M.

1983 Racial and Ethnic Composition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barer-Stein, T.

1988 Experiencing the unfamiliar: culture, adaptation and culture shock as aspects of a process of learning. Canadian Ethnic Studies XX (2).

Beiser, M.

1990 Refugee mental health adaptation: The Canadian experience. Paper presented at conference 'Refugee Policy: A Comparison of Canada and the USA'. May 27-30. Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies and Refugee Policy Group, York University.

Berger, P. L. and T. Luckmann

1966 The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Blishen, B. and H. A. McRoberts

1976 A revised socio-economic index for occupations in Canada. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 13 (1).

Blishen, B. and W. K. Carroll

1978 Sex differences in a socio-economic index for occupations in Canada. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 15 (3).

Boyd, M.

1975 The status of immigrant women in Canada. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 12.

1980 The double negative: Female immigrants in the Canadian labour force. Population Index 46 (3).

1984 At a disadvantage: Occupational attainment of foreign born women in Canada. International Migration Review 18 (4).

Breton, R.

1964 Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and personal relations to immigrants. American Journal of Sociology 70.

Brown, C.

1984 Black and White Britain. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Buchignani, N.

1977 Immigration, adaptation and the management of ethnic identity: An examination of Fijian East Indians in British Columbia. Ph.D. thesis. Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University.

1980 The economic adaptation of Southeast Asian refugees in Canada. Pp. 191-204 in E. Tepper, South East Asian Exodus: From Tradition to Resettlement. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Bushart, B.

1990 Remarks made as discussant of papers presented at conference 'Refugee Policy: A Comparison of Canada and the USA'. May 27-30. Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies and Refugee Policy Group, York University.

Calzavara, L.

1983 Social networks and access to job opportunities. Ph.D. thesis. Department of Sociology, University of Toronto.

Caplan, N. S.

1989 The Boat People and Achievement in America: A Study of

Family Life, Hard Work and Cultural Values. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Chan, K.

1987 Unemployment, social support and coping: The psychological response of Indochinese refugees to economic marginality. Pp. 116-131 in K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Chan, K. and L. Lam

1987a Community, kinship and family in the Chinese Vietnamese community: Some enduring values and patterns of interaction. Pp. 15-26 in K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association.

1987b Psychological problems of Chinese-Vietnamese refugees resettling in Quebec. Pp. 27-41 in K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association.

Chimbos, P.

1980 The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Clark, Margaret et al.

1976 Explorations of acculturation: toward a model of ethnic

identity. Human Organization 35 (3).

Clodman, J. and A. H. Richmond

1982 Immigration and Unemployment. Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.

Copeland, N. H.

1988 The Southeast Asian community in Winnipeg. Pp. 95-116 in L-J. Dorais, K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Ten Years After: Indochinese Communities in Canada. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Cornick, J. E.

1983 Effects of non-clustering of refugees. Migration Today 11 (2/3).

Cox, D.

1985 Welfare services for migrants. Can they be better planned? International Migration 23 (1).

Creative Employment and Development Association

1984 A Survey of Youth Unemployment in Edmonton. Edmonton: Creative Employment and Development Association.

Desbarats, J.

1986 Ethnic differences in adaptation: Sino-Vietnamese refugees in the United States. International Migration Review 20 (2).

Deschamps, G.

1982 Etude longitudinale sur l'adaptation socio-economique des refugies Indochinois au Quebec: Bilan apres un an de sejour. (Cahier no. 1) Montreal: Ministere des

Communautes culturelles et de l'immigration, Gouvernement du Quebec.

1985 Etude longitudinale sur l'adaptation socio-economique des refugies Indochinois au Quebec: La deuxieme annee de sejour. (Cahier no. 3) Montreal: Ministere des Communautes culturelles et de l'immigration, Gouvernement du Quebec.

Dorais, L-J.

1988 Cold solitude and snowy peace: The Indochinese in Quebec City. Pp. 165-188 in L-J. Dorais, K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Ten Years Later: Indochinese Communities in Canada. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

1991 Refugee adaptation and community structure: The Indochinese in Quebec City, Canada. International Migration Review 25 (3).

Dreidger, L.

1980 Ethnic and minority relations. Ch. 8 in R. Hagedorn (ed.), Sociology. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Finnan, C.

1983 Occupational assimilation of refugees. International Migration Review 15 (1).

Geiger, R. C.

1982 Indo-Chinese success in U.S. mill town. Christian Science Monitor.

Glazer, N. and D. P. Moynihan

1963 Beyond the Melting Pot. The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews,

Italians and Irish of New York City. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

Gold, S.

1989 Americanization of Vietnamese. Society 27 (1).

Goldberg, D. P.

1979 A scaled version of the GHQ. Psychological Medicine 9.

Gordon, M. M.

1964 Assimilation in America: Theory and reality. Daedalus (Spring).

Government of Manitoba, Employment Services and Economic Security

1983 A report on the employment status of Southeast Asian and Eastern European immigrants. Winnipeg: Immigration and Settlement Branch, 401 York Av.

Grant, B.

1979 The Boat People: An Age Investigation. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

Greater Toronto South East Asian Refugee Task Force

1981 Report. Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto.

Grygier, T. and F. Ribordy

1973 Integration, assimilation and cultural conflict: a study of four immigrant groups in Canada. Paper presented at conference on migration, ethnic minorities and social adaptation. Ottawa: University of Ottawa.

Haines, D.

1980a The structure of kinship in Vietnam: Implications for

refugee adaptation. Paper presented at annual meeting of Society for Applied Anthropology. March. Denver.

1980b Mismatch in the resettlement process: The Vietnamese family versus the American housing market. Journal of Refugee Resettlement 1 (1).

Haines, D., D. Rutherford and P. Thomas

1981a Family and community among Vietnamese refugees. International Migration Review 15 (1).

1981b The case for exploratory fieldwork: Understanding the adjustment of Vietnamese refugees in the Washington area. Anthropological Quarterly 54 (2).

Heipel, R.

1990 Refugee resettlement in a Canadian city. Paper presented at conference 'Refugee Policy: A Comparison of Canada and the USA'. May 27-30. Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies and Refugee Policy Group, York University.

Hobart, C. W.

n.d. Italian Immigrants in Edmonton: Adjustment and Integration. Research report for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Department of Sociology, University of Alberta.

Holmes, L.

1990 Remarks made as discussant of papers presented at conference 'Refugee Policy: A Comparison of Canada and the USA'. May 27-30. Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies and Refugee Policy Group, York University.

Indra, D.

1980 Community and Inter-Ethnic Relations of Southeast Asian Refugees in Canada. Pp. 173-188 in E. Tepper (ed.), South East Asian Exodus: From Tradition to Resettlement. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

1987 Social science research on Indochinese refugees in Canada. Pp. 5-14 in K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association.

1988 Self concept and resettlement: Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese in a small prairie city. Pp. 69-94 in L-J. Dorais, Kwok Chan and Doreen Indra (eds.), Ten Years Later: Indo-Chinese Communities in Canada. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Jones, P. R.

1982 Vietnamese refugees: A study of their reception and resettlement in the U.K. (paper no. 13) London: Home Office Research and Planning Unit.

1983a The Vietnamese in Britain. (bulletin no. 15) London: Home Office Research and Planning Unit.

1983b Vietnamese refugees in the U.K. New Community.

1983c Letter to the editor. Refuge 3 (2) Dec.

Kelly, G. P.

1977 From Vietnam to America: A Chronicle of the Vietnamese Immigration to the United States. Boulder: Westview

Press.

Kim, Young Yun

1980 Research Project on Indochinese Refugees in the State of Illinois. Feb. Chicago: Travellers' Aid Society of Metropolitan Chicago.

Knudsen, J. C.

1983 Resettlement patterns and sociocultural adaptation among Vietnamese refugees in Norway. Paper presented at 11th International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnological Sciences. Phase II. Aug. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Kutz-Harder, H.

1990 Remarks made as discussant of papers presented at conference 'Refugee Policy: A Comparison of Canada and the USA'. May 27-30. Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies and Refugee Policy Group, York University.

Lalu, N. M. and P. Krishnan

1992 Statistical properties of the index of dissimilarity. Paper presented at the 'Congres International sur Analyse en Distance'. June 22-26. Rennes, France.

Lam. L.

1983 Vietnamese-Chinese refugees in Montreal: Factors affecting their resettlement. (Draft paper). Department of Sociology, York University.

Le, Can D. and San Duy Nguyen

1988 The Vietnamese Canadian community in the National Capital Region. Pp. 127-140 in L-J. Dorais, Kwok Chan and Doreen Indra (eds.), Ten Years Later: Indo-Chinese Communities in Canada. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Lin, Keh-Ming, L. Tazuma and M. Masuda

1979 Adaptational problems of Vietnamese refugees. Archives of General Psychiatry 36.

Martin, J. and S. Encel

1981 The ethnic dimension: papers on ethnicity and pluralism. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Melendy, H. B.

1982 Filipino, Korean and Vietnamese immigration to the United States. Pp. 38-65 in D.L. Cuddy (ed.) Contemporary American Immigration. Boston: Twayne.

Michalowski, M.

1987 Trifactorial analysis of immigrant adaptation. Ottawa: Statistics Canada Demography Division.

Montero, D.

1979 Vietnamese Americans: Patterns of Resettlement and Socioeconomic Adaptation in the United States. Boulder: Westview Press.

Montgomery, R.

1986 The economic adaptation of Vietnamese refugees in Alberta, 1979-85. International Migration 24 (1).

Mullan, B. P.

1989 The impact of social networks in the occupational status of migrants. International Migration 27 (1).

Murphy, H. B. M.

1965 Migration and major mental disorders: A reappraisal. Pp. 5-29 in M. Kantor (ed.), Mobility and Mental Health. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas.

Neter, J., W. Wasserman and G. A. Whitmore

1988 Applied Statistics (3rd ed.). Toronto: Allyn and Bacon.

Nguyen, Hai

1981 Legal Needs of South East Asian Refugees: A Survey. Calgary: Calgary Sponsor and Refugee Society.

Nguyen, L. T. and A. B. Henkin

1982 Vietnamese refugees in the United States: Adaptation and transitional status. Journal of Ethnic Studies 9.

Nguyen, San

1990 Remarks made as discussant of papers presented at conference 'Refugee Policy: A Comparison of Canada and the USA'. May 27-30. Toronto: Centre for Refugee Studies and Refugee Policy Group, York University.

Nguyen, San Duy, T. Cooke and T. Q. Phung

1983 Refugee needs assessment. Ottawa: Southeast Asian Refugee Research Project, University of Ottawa.

Park, Chung-Hee C.

1981 Ethnic identification, sociocultural adjustment and school achievement of Korean-American youth in Los

Angeles. Ph.D. thesis. Department of Sociology, University of Southern California.

Park, R. E.

1950 Race and Culture. New York: Free Press.

Pisarowicz, J. A. and V. Tosher

1982 Vietnamese refugee resettlement in Denver, Colorado: 1975-77. Pp. 69-81 in A. Hansen and A. Oliver-Smith (eds.) Involuntary Migration and Resettlement: The problems and responses of dislocated people. Boulder: Westview Press.

Porter, J.

1965 The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Portes, A.

1969 Dilemnas of golden exile: Integration of Cuban refugee families in Milwaukee. American Sociological Review 34 (4).

Richmond, A. H.

1967 Post War Immigrants in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

1972 Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto: Ethnic Research Program, York University.

1974 Aspects of the absorption of immigrants. Ottawa: Canadian Immigration and Population Studies, Manpower and Immigration.

1981 Comparative Studies in the Economic Adaptation of

Immigrants in Canada. Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University.

Rogg E.

1974 The influence of a strong reference community in the economic adjustment of its members. International Migration Review 5 (4).

Samuel, T. J.

1987 Economic adaptation of Indochinese refugees in Canada. Pp. 65 - 76 in K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association.

Samuel, T.J. and B. Woloski

1985 The labour market experiences of Canadian immigrants. International Migration 25 (1).

Saunders, E.A.

1985 Resettlement experiences of Russian Jewish immigrants in Vancouver, Canada between 1975 and 1982. International Migration 23 (3).

Smith, D. J.

1981 Unemployment and Racial Minorities. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Spencer, M.

1976 Foundations of Modern Sociology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Statistics Canada

1984 Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-83. Ottawa: Catalogue no. 71-529 occasional.

Starr, P. D. et al.

1979 Adaptation and stress among Vietnamese refugees: Preliminary results from two regions. Paper presented at conference on Indochinese refugees. Oct. Fairfax, Virginia: George Mason University.

Starr, P. D. and A. E. Roberts

1982 Community structure and Vietnamese refugee adaptation: The significance of context. International Migration Review 16 (3).

Stein, B.N.

1979 Occupational adjustment of refugees: The Vietnamese in the United States. International Migration Review 13 (1).

Strand, P.

1984 Employment predictors among Indochinese refugees. International Migration Review 18 (1).

Strand, P. J. and W. Jones Jr.

1985 Indochinese Refugees in America: Problems of Adaptation and Assimilation. Durham, N. Carolina: Duke University Press.

Tran, Thanh V.

1991 Sponsorship and employment status among Indochinese refugees in the United States. International Migration

Review 25 (3).

United Nations Dept. of Public Information, New York

1984 Yearbook of the United Nations. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Martinius Nijhoff.

Van Esterik, P.

1980 Cultural factors affecting the adjustment of Southeast Asian Refugees. Pp. 151 - 171 in E. Tepper, South East Asian Exodus: From Tradition to Resettlement. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Van Esterik, P. and J. Van Esterik

1988 Indochinese refugees in Toronto. Pp. 117 - 126 in L-J. Dorais, K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Ten Years Later: Indochinese Communities in Canada. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

Vignes, A. J. and R. C. Hall

1979 Adjustment of a group of Vietnamese people to the United States. American Journal of Psychiatry 136 (4A).

Viviani, N.

1984 The long journey: Vietnamese migration and settlement in Australia. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Weiermair, K.

1971 Economic adjustment of refugees in Canada: A case study. International Migration 9 (1/2).

1976 The economic effects of language training to immigrants: A case study. International Migration Review 10 (2).

Wiseman, J. P.

1985 Individual adjustments and kin relationships in the 'new immigration'. International Migration 23 (3).

Wooden, Mark

1991 The experience of refugees in the Australian labour market. International Migration Review 25 (3).

Woon, Yuen-Fong

1984 Indochinese refugee sponsorship: The case of Victoria, 1979-1980. Canadian Ethnic Studies 16 (1).

1987 The mode of refugee sponsorship and the socioeconomic adaptation of Vietnamese in Victoria: A three year perspective. Pp. 132-146 in K. Chan and D. Indra (eds.), Uprooting, Loss and Adaptation: The Resettlement of Indochinese refugees in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association.

Woon, Yuen Fong, Helen Wong and Donna Woo

1988 Loose sand: The ethnic Vietnamese and Sino-Vietnamese community in Greater Victoria, 1980-85. Pp. 37-68 in L-J. Dorais, Kwok Chan and Doreen Indra (eds.), Ten Years Later: Indo-Chinese Communities in Canada. Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association.

YOUTEC (consulting firm of Jack Santa Barbara)

1980 Southeast Asian Refugee Settlement in Metro Toronto: Refugee and Sponsor Views. Toronto: YOUTEC Consulting.

REFUGEE ADJUSTMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

(Finalized Nov. 5, 1983)

1. Interview schedule #
(to be stamped here:

1 2 3

2. Interviewer's name: (PRINT)

_____

CODE INITIALS: 4 5 6

3. Sampling source:

AHC..... 1	Club or assoc... 4	Church 7
CEIC 2	Mennonite 5	Snowball etc. 8
Phone book 3	EISA 6	School 9

7

A. R's apt. and street address: Phone #:

_____ _____

1
-
8

4. Municipality name _____
(Code from list 1)

9 10

5. Population of municipality (TO BE CODED LATER)
(Code from list 2)

11 12 13 14 15

B. Interviewer's instructions:

GO TO ADDRESS IN "A" ABOVE. KNOCK ON DOOR. IF NO ONE ANSWERS OR THERE ARE NO ADULTS AT HOME (AGED 18 OR MORE), COMPLETE PART C AND TRY AGAIN AT A LATER DATE.
IF YOU CAN SPEAK TO AN ADULT SAY:
"Hello. Do you speak _____?"(interviewer's language)

IF R CANNOT SPEAK YOUR LANGUAGE, ASK IF SOME OTHER ADULT IN THE HOUSEHOLD CAN. IF NOT, COMPLETE PART C, CODING LANG. AND LEAVE.

IF YOU CAN TALK TO AN ADULT WHO SPEAKS YOUR LANGUAGE, PROCEED AS FOLLOWS:

"Hello. I work for Alberta Manpower Department. We are doing some research to find out how well the Vietnamese refugees are doing in Alberta. We would like to ask you some questions about your adjustment to life in Alberta so we can plan for better services for refugees in the future. I would appreciate some of your time to answer these questions. Your name will not be used. We are talking to hundreds of Vietnamese refugees. We will put all the answers together so that we can see how well everybody is doing. We are not interested in individuals; only how well the refugees are doing as a group. I would like to interview all of the persons in this household who are aged 18 or more. It will take about 50 minutes for each person. Could I please start with you?

IF ONE OR MORE PERSONS CONSENT, PROCEED WITH THE INTERVIEW AND COMPLETE PART C WHEN FINISHED. THEN INTERVIEW OTHER ADULTS OR MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO INTERVIEW THEM AT A LATER DATE.

C. CALL RECORD

Call Number	1	2	3	4	5
Time of day	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Date (day & mo.)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Result (abbrev.)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

NAH	No adults at home at time of call
WRONG	No Vietnamese live at this address (give up)
APPT	Appointment made to call back
REF	Refusal (give up)
HV	House Vacant or address is not a dwelling unit, etc. (give up)
NCOM	Not completed (If can be completed later, call back. If not, give up.
LANG	R does not speak interviewer's language. Give this form to another interviewer who speaks the correct language, or if R cannot understand Chinese or Vietnamese, make a note of their language (e.g. Laotian)
OK	Interview completed

IF OK OR "GIVE UP", RETURN QUESTIONNAIRE TO YOUR SUPERVISOR.

6. CODE R's SEX BUT DO NOT ASK IT:

Male 1

Female 2

16

7. CODE LANGUAGE INTERVIEW IS GOING TO BE CONDUCTED IN

Chinese 2

Vietnamese 1

English 3

17

8. Are you Vietnamese or ethnic Chinese or other?

Vietnamese 5

Chinese 4

Laotian 3

Cambodian 2

Other 1

18

(VERIFY R's ETHNICITY WHETHER HE/SHE CONSIDERS HIM OR HERSELF CHINESE OR VIETNAMESE)

9. INTERVIEWER'S SEX

Male 1

Female .. 2

19

10. CODE # PERSONS IN THIS HOUSEHOLD WHO WERE INTERVIEWED (DO NOT CODE UNTIL AFTER LAST INTERVIEW AT THIS HOUSEHOLD)

20

11. I would like to ask you a few questions about the people who live at this household. Including yourself and any children, how many people live here?

_____ PEOPLE

21 22

12. How many persons in this household are presently contributing financially to its support, either through job earnings, helping a family business, getting unemployment insurance, Adjustment Assistance or Social Assistance? Do not forget to count yourself if you contribute.
(ENSURE THAT THIS IS EQUAL TO OR LESS THAN # IN Q. 11)

23 24

13. How many dependants are in this household: That is, people who do not contribute financially (e.g. children, students, old people, unemployed etc.)
(ENSURE 12 + 13 = 11)

25 26

14. Were you in a refugee camp before coming to Canada? If so, how many months?
_____ (IF NEVER IN CAMP CODE 00)

27 28

15. In the ten years before you came to Canada, what country did you spend most of your time in?

North Viet Nam 1

South Viet Nam 2

Laos 3

Cambodia 4

Other 5

29

16. What is your age?

_____ years

30 31

17. Was your trip from Vietnam to the first refugee camp:

Smooth and easy 3

Some problems 2

Terrible, traumatic . 1

32

18. If you escaped by boat, were you a leader in planning the escape or piloting the boat, or did you escape by yourself by land, or lead a group by land? (Note - Chinese translation says: "If you escaped from Viet Nam, were you the pilot of the boat, the leader of a group of people by land, or did you escape by yourself by land?") IF THEY WERE A MEMBER OF A PARTY WHICH ESCAPED, NOT THE LEADER, CODE "NO".

Yes 1
No 2

33

19. When did you arrive in Alberta?
month _____ year 19___
01=Jan 02=Feb 03=Mar 04=Apr 05=May 06=Jun
07=Jul 08=Aug 09=Sep 10=Oct 11=Nov 12=Dec

34 35 36 37

20. When you were sponsored to come to Canada, where were you sent to live? (Province)

Alberta or NWT ... 1 (SKIP TO Q.22)	Man. 5
Quebec 2	Ont. 6
B.C. or Yukon 3	Atlantic
Sask. 4	Provinces .7

38

21. How many months were you there before you came to Alberta?
_____ (IF UNDER ONE MONTH, CODE 01)

39 40

Why did you move to Alberta?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

22. When you first came to Alberta, where did you live?
(WRITE NAME OF MUNICIPALITY) _____
[CODE FROM LIST 1]

41 42

23. Population of municipality (CODE FROM LIST 2)

43 44 45 46 47

24. Since you came to Alberta, how many cities or towns have you lived in? _____ (MINIMUM = 1)

48

25. IF MOVED WITHIN ALBERTA:
What was the main reason for your last move?

Be closer to relatives 1
Be closer to friends 2
To find a job 3
To find beter recreational facilities 4
Other 5

49

26. Do you plan to move from Alberta to another place within the next year?

No ..... 2 (SKIP TO Q.29)
Yes 1

50

27. Where to?

NWT	1	Man.	5	Another	
Quebec	2	Ont.	6	Country	8
B.C. or Yukon	3	Atlantic		Which?	
Sask.	4	Provinces	7	_____	
		Don't know	9		

51

28. Why did you want to move?

_____

_____

29. What was your marital status just after you arrived in Canada?

Single (never married)	1
Married and with spouse	2
Common law (not married but living with someone) ...	3
Married but spouse was in another country	4
Separated, divorced	5
Widowed	6

52

30. What is you marital status?

Single (never married)	1 (SKIP TO Q.32)
Married and with spouse	2
Common law (not married but living with someone)	3 (SKIP TO Q.32)
Married but spouse was in another country	4 (SKIP TO Q.32)
Separated, divorced	5 (SKIP TO Q.32)
Widowed	6 (SKIP TO Q.32)

53

31. If you married since arriving in Canada, is your spouse?

From Viet Nam 1
Born in Canada 2
Other (immigrant)... 3 Country of origin _____

54

32. How would you feel if a close relative of yours living in Canada wanted to marry an English-speaking Canadian?

I would be very opposed to such a marriage 1
I would be somewhat opposed 2
It would not bother me 3
Doesn't know, or depends on the individual 4

55

33. Now, we are interested in learning how you are getting along with the English language. How well did you <u>speak</u> English when you <u>first</u> <u>came</u> to Canada?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

56

34. How well do you <u>speak</u> English now?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

57

35. How well did you understand English when you first came to Canada?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

58

36. How well do you understand English now?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

59

37. How well did you write English when you first came to Canada?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

60

38. How well do you write English now?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

61

39. How well did you read English when you first came to Canada?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

62

40. How well do you <u>read</u> English <u>now</u> ?

Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	None
5	4	3	2	1

63

41. Since you came to Canada, how many weeks of English language lessons have you had? (IF NONE, CODE 00)

_____ weeks

64 65

42. Are you attending any English classes (ESL) now?

Yes ..... 1 (SKIP TO Q. 44)
No 2

66

43. Why are you not taking any English classes now?

R says no ESL classes available 0
Did not know where to go or how to apply 1
My English is good enough now 2
Family responsibilities (care for children, etc.) 3
Too tired after work 4
Costs too much money (and can't get sponsored by government) 5
The class times are not suitable for me 6
Want to go but the classes are full 7
The classes do not suit my needs 8
[explain needs: _____]
Does not want to study English 9
(IF '9', SKIP TO Q. 47)

67

44. Where would you like English classes to be held?

Schools (including AVC) 1

Government buildings 2

Workplace (e.g. lunch room, or meeting room)... 3

Ethnic association (e.g. Catholic Social Services, Mennonite Center for Newcomers, Edmonton Viets Association, Chinese Community Services Center) 4

Church or temple (pagoda) 5

At my home (tutor) 6

Anywhere 7

NOTE: CIRCLE ONLY ONE (Their favourite)

68

45. What kind of English lessons do you prefer?

None, don't need any more 0

Full-time classes during weekdays 1

Part-time classes during weekdays 2

Part-time classes during evenings 3

Weekend classes 4

Self study when I have time 5

Other 6

69

46. If you were going to take more English lessons, would you prefer ordinary English lessons or special job - related lessons that would teach technical terms about an occupation?

Ordinary 1
Technical 2
Both 3
Comments: _____

70

47. How much instruction in English language did you have before you came to Canada?

None 1
A few weeks or months of study 2
Several months, up to one year 3
More than one year 4

71

48. How do you feel about your English ability now compared to when you arrived in Canada?

Very good. I feel confident because I have learned much English since I arrived. 4
I have learned some English since I arrived 3
I have learned a little English since I arrived .. 2
Not good. I am frustrated because I have learned so little English since I arrived. 1

72

49. How many of the following do you belong to?

	#
Church or temple	___
Religious association or organization...	___
Vietnamese or Chinese ethnic association.	___
Sports team or recreational club, association or lessons	___
Political club or association	___
Other club or association	___
TOTAL	___

IF TOTAL = 00, SKIP TO Q.62
IF INACTIVE MEMBER, DO NOT COUNT

73 74

50. In the last month, how many services or meetings of all these associations combined have you attended (e.g. CHURCH EVERY WEEK, SPORTS EVENT EVERY TWO WEEKS, ASSOCIATION ONCE, TOTAL = 7)

75 76

51. How many of the ___ (TOTAL) clubs or associations that you belong to have mostly Chinese or Vietnamese members?

77 78

52. How many have mostly English speaking members?

79 80

2
8

53. If you were going to join more clubs or associations, would you prefer that the members be mostly:

IF EMPHATICALLY DOES NOT WANT TO JOIN MORE, LEAVE BLANK

Vietnamese or Chinese 1
Immigrants from other countries 2
English speaking Canadians 3
Doesn't matter 4

9

IF BELONGS TO A RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

54. What language is usually used at your religious association meetings?

Vietnamese or Chinese 1
English 2

10

55. If food (snacks, refreshment) is served at meetings of this association, is it:

N.A., or no food served 0

Vietnamese or Chinese 1

Canadian 2

11

IF BELONGS TO A SPORTS TEAM OR RECREATION CLUB:

56. What language is usually used at games or meetings of your sports or recreation group?

Vietnamese or Chinese 1

English 2

12

57. If food (snacks, refreshment) is served at meetings of this association, is it:

N.A., or no food served 0

Vietnamese or Chinese 1

Canadian 2

13

IF BELONGS TO A POLITICAL CLUB OR ASSOCIATION:

58. What language is usually used at meetings of your political club or association?

Vietnamese or Chinese 1

Canadian 2

14

59. If food (snacks, refreshments) is served at meetings of this association, is it:

N.A., or no food served 0

Vietnamese or Chinese 1

Canadian 2

15

IF BELONGS TO ANOTHER CLUB OR ASSOCIATION:

60. What language is usually used at meetings of this club or association?

Vietnamese or Chinese 1

English 2

16

61. If food (snacks, refreshments) is served at meetings of this association, is it:

N.A., or no food served 0

Vietnamese or Chinese 1

Canadian 2

17

62. Do you live in an area which has more Vietnamese than the other areas in this city/town/village?

Yes 1

No 2

18

ASK ONLY IF HAS CHILDREN:

63. What language do your children usually use when speaking <u>to each other</u> or their friends?

Have no children; or children not living here,
or children are too young to talk .....0 (SKIP TO Q. 67)
Vietnamese or Chinese 1
English 2
Other 8

19

ASK ONLY IF HAS CHILDREN:

64. Do you think your children are learning English language and Canadian customs much faster than you?

Yes 1
No .....2 (SKIP TO Q. 66)

20

ASK ONLY IF HAS CHILDREN:

65. How do you feel about this?

Bothers me, problematic 1
Does not bother me, not a problem 2
Pleased 3

21

66. Are your children's friends:

Not applicable, no children, children not at home, or children have no friends 0
All or mostly from Southeast Asian family 1
All or mostly Chinese Canadian 3
All or mostly Canadian or immigrants from other Countries (not Southeast Asia) 6
About half Southeast Asian and half Chinese Canadian 2
About half Southeast Asian and half Canadian or immigrants from other countries 4
About half Chinese Canadian and half Canadian or immigrants from other countries 5

— 22

67. How many friends or families in Canada are you very close to? (not relatives)?

_____ (WRITE EXACT NUMBER)

(NOTE - COUNT EACH FAMILY AS 1, e.g. IF KNOWS 1 FAMILY AND 1 OTHER FRIEND, CODE 2)

— — 23 24

68. How many of these friends or these families are from Vietnam? (or Laos or Kampuchia) _____

— — 25 26

69. How many of these friends or these families are Chinese speaking Canadians or Chinese from Hong Kong, Taiwan or China?

_____

27 28

INTERVIEWER: ENSURE THAT REMAINING FRIENDS ARE CANADIAN, OR RECENT IMMIGRANTS NOT FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA. eg. If R says he has 7 friends, 4 from Vietnam, 1 Chinese Canadian, say "So the remaining 2 friends are Canadians?"

70. How many friends do you have, other than the close friends or families you already told me about?

(COUNT A FAMILY AS 1 FRIEND)

29 30

71. How many of these friends did you meet at a job site or workplace?

31

72. How many of these friends did you meet at a church, pagoda or ethnic association?

32

73. How many of these friends did you meet in your neighborhood?

33

74. How many of these friends did you meet at recreation club?

34

75. How many of these friends did you already know from Vietnam?
(Do not include Vietnamese friends made in Canada)

___
35

ASK Q. 76 ONLY IF MET FRIENDS AT A JOB

76. Are most of your friends that you met through a job:

From Vietnam, Laos, or Kampuchia 1
Chinese speaking Canadians or Chinese from Hong King, Taiwan, China 2
Immigrants from some other place or native Canadians 3

___
36

77. Would you prefer to work at a job where most of your co-workers would be

N.A. - no plans to work 0
From Vietnam, Laos or Kampuchia 1
Immigrants from another Southeast Asian place (China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Japan) 2
Immigrants from some other place or native Canadians 3
Does not matter at all to me 8

___
37

ASK Q. 78 ONLY IF HAS FRIENDS IN NEIGHBORHOOD

78. Are most of your neighborhood friends

From Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchia 1
Chinese-Canadian or Chinese from Southeast Asian 2

An immigrant from some other place (Europe, India, South America) or Canadian born 3

38

79. Would you prefer to live in an area where most of the neighbors would be

From Vietnam, Laos, or Kampuchia 1
Immigrants from another Southeast Asian place (China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Japan) 2
Immigrants from some other place or native Canadians 3
Does not matter at all to me 8

39

80. Would you like to have more friends or relatives here in Alberta?

No 2
Yes 1

40

81. If you were going to make more friends here, would you prefer that they be

Vietnamese or Chinese 1
Canadian 3
Doesn't Matter 2

41

82. When you have an occasion to celebrate, do you usually go to a Vietnamese, Chinese or Canadian restaurant?

Never had occasion 0
Vietnamese or Chinese 1
Canadian 2

42

83. Do you have separate parties for Vietnamese and Canadian friends?

N/A - Never has parties or has no Canadian friends 0
Yes 1
No 2

43

84. Do you celebrate your own or your children's birthday (have a party, etc.)?

No 1
Yes 2

44

85. How many times in the last month have you read a Vietnamese or Chinese newspaper or magazine?

_____

45 46

86. How many times in the last month have you bought an English language newspaper or magazine?

_____

47 48

87. When you listen to music, do you usually listen to Vietnamese or Chinese or American style music? (IF NEVER LISTENS TO MUSIC, SKIP TO Q. 88)

Vietnamese or Chinese 1
American, or European Classical 2
Depends on my mood 8

49

88. Do you think children of Vietnamese newcomers should listen to Vietnamese, Chinese or American style music?

Vietnamese or Chinese 1
American, or European Classical 2
No opinion 8

50

89. How often do you spend leisure time with your Vietnamese friends or neighbors? (For example, social evenings, going to a restaurant or coffee shop, parties, visiting, going for a walk or car drive, having a long talk or going to a sports or recreaton centre) (LET R TELL YOU, THEN CIRCLE, DO NOT READ CATEGORIES.)

Daily or almost daily 7
A few times a week 6
Once a week 5
2 or 3 times a month 4
Once a month 3

Every few months 2
Fewer than five times a year 1
Have no Vietnamese friends 0

51

90. How often do you spend leisure time with your Canadian friends or neighbors? (LET R TELL YOU, THEN CIRCLE. DO NOT READ CATEGORIES.)

Daily or almost daily 7
A few times a week 6
Once a week 5
2 or 3 times a month 4
Once a month 3
Every few months 2
Fewer than five time a year 1
Have no Canadian friends 0

52

Life in Canada can be difficult for strangers from another country. We would like to know about your awareness and use of services provided to help you adjust to life in Alberta.

91. Have you been to a medical doctor, a hospital, or dentist since you arrived in Alberta?

Yes 1
No .....2 (SKIP TO Q. 93)

53

92. If you went there without an interpreter, how much trouble did you have because of difficulty with the English language?

Not applicable: went with interpreter or Doctor spoke same language 0
Much trouble 1
Some trouble 2
A little trouble 3
No trouble 4

54

93. If you ever went to apply for Social Assistance (Welfare money), how much trouble do you have because of difficulties with the English language?

Never went 0
Always took an interpreter along 8
Much trouble (eg. had to leave or phone an interpreter) 1
Some trouble 2
A little trouble 3
No trouble 4

55

94. Are your having trouble with transportation (getting to job, getting yourself or children to school, getting to stores)?

No 0
Yes 1

56

95. Are you having trouble buying the kind of food you like?

No 0
Yes 1

57

96. Are you having trouble adjusting to Canadian food, or learning how to cook Canadian food?

No 0
Yes 1

58

ASK Q. 97 ONLY IF HAS CHILDREN

97. It is difficult to arrange care for your children when you are away from home?

No 0
Yes 1

59

98. Do you know how to shop in Canadian stores?

No 0
Yes 1

60

99. In you opinion, which family problem occurs most often among refugees starting a new life in Canada? (READ LIST TO R)

Between husband and wife 1
Between parents and children 2

Between siblings 3
Between other relatives, in laws, etc. 4
Don't know or have no opinion 9

___
61

What to you are the most important and least important problems now? Choose 1 for the most important, 2 for the second, 3 for the third most important, etc. until 9 is the least important.
(SHOW LIST TO RESPONDENT, LET RESPONDENT PUT # BESIDE EACH ITEM)

100. Finances .....___ ___
62

101. Language .....___ ___
63

102. Job Training .....___ ___
64

103. Employment (getting a job, job conditions, changing job) .....___ ___
65

104. Social life (making friends, getting married, being lonely) .....___ ___
66

105. Coping with new life (Culture) .....___ ___
67

106. Discrimination .....___ ___
68

107. Health or handicap .....___ ___
69

108. Suitable housing ..... ___
70

109. If you worked in your own country, what occupation did you have the most training or experience in?

Job title: _____

Description of work: _____

_____

_____

(CODE FROM CCDO) (CODE 0000000 IF DID NOT WORK) ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
71 72 73 74 75 76 77

110. How many years of education or formal job training did you have when you were in Vietnam?

_____ (WRITE TOTAL NUMBER OF YEARS) ___ ___
78 79

111. Are you taking any job training now?

Yes 0

No .....1 (SKIP TO Q. 114) ___
80

3
8

112. What kind of training is it?

_____ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

(CODE FROM CCDO) 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

113. Is this the kind of training you want or would you rather be learning to do some other kind of job?

This is the kind of training I want .....2 (SKIP TO Q. 115)
I would rather be learning something else .....1 __
16

IF IT IS APPARENT THAT PERSON DOES NOT WANT TO TAKE ANY JOB TRAINING, DO NOT ASK Q. 114

114. If you are not currently in job training, and would like to be, or if you are currently in job training but would rather be learning a different kind of job, what kind of job training would you want to be taking?

_____ (CODE FROM CCDO)

__ __ __ __ __ __ __
17 18 19 20 21 22 23

115. Did you take any job training after arriving in Canada, but before now?

Yes 0
No .....1 (SKIP TO Q. 119) __
24

116. What kind of training was it?

_____ (CODE FROM CCDO)

__ __ __ __ __ __ __
25 26 27 28 29 30 31

117. Was this the kind of training you wanted or expected?

Yes .....2 (SKIP TO Q. 119)
No .....1 __
32

118. If not, what kind of training did you want or were you expecting?

_____ (CODE FROM CCDO)

33 34 35 36 37 38 39

119. How many full-time and part-time jobs have you had in Canada (including the present job, if any)?

___ (WRITE NUMBER OF FULL-TIME JOBS)
___ (WRITE NUMBER OF PART-TIME JOBS)

40 41 42

(CODE TOTAL IN COLUMNS 40, 41, 42. PART TIME COUNTS AS 1/2. eg. 3 FULL TIME, 1 PART TIME CODE 035; 2 PART TIME CODE 010; IF NEVER WORKED, CODE 000 AND SKIP TO Q. 143)

120. What was the very first job you had in Canada? Please tell me the title of the job and describe the type of work you did.

Title: _____
Description: _____
_____ (CODE FROM CCDO)

43 44 45 46 47 48 49

121. How long did you work there?

_____ months

50 51

122. Within which of the following monthly pay levels did you fall? ("gross" salary before deductions) when you started?

$500 or less 1
$501 to $1,000 2
$1,001 to $1,500 3
$1,501 to $2,000 4
$2,001 to $2,500 5
$2,501 to $3,000 6
over $3,000 7
Don't know 9

52

123. How long were you unemployed and seeking work before you got your first job?

_____ Weeks

53 54

124. How did you find your first job in Canada? (CIRCLE ONLY ONE)

Canada Employment Office counsellor 1
Friends and/or relatives 2
Sponsor 3
Private employment agency 4
A church service or religious agency for newcomers 5
A Chinese, Vietnamese or Refugee association 6
Own initiative 7
Other Vietnamese refugees 8
Newspaper Ads 9
A religious organization 10

55 56

125. What was or is the best job that you had in Canada (IF IT IS THEIR PRESENT JOB, ANSWER THIS QUESTION, THEN SKIP TO Q. 128)

Title:_____

Description:_____

_____

(CODE FROM CCDO) 57 58 59 60 61 62 63

126. How long did you work there?

_____ months

64 65

127. Within which of the following monthly pay levels did you fall? ("gross" salary before deductions) That is, your final salary.

$500 or less 1
$501 to $1,000 2
$1,001 to $1,500 3
$1,501 to $2,000 4
$2,001 to $2,500 5
$2,501 to $3,000 6
over $3,000 7
Don't know 9

66

128. How did you find this best job? (CIRCLE ONLY ONE)

Canada Employment Office counsellor 1
Friends and/or relatives 2
Sponsor 3
Private employment agency 4

A church service or religious agency for newcomers 5

A Chinese, Vietnamese or Refugee association 6

Own Initiative 7

Other Vietnamese refugees 8

Newspaper Ads 9

A religious organization 10

67 68

129. How many accidents have you had at work, other than trivial ones?

_____ (TOTAL ACCIDENTS AT ALL JOBS IN CANADA)

(IF NONE CODE 00) 69 70

130. How many months of work have you had since you came to Canada? (IF WORKED ANY PART-TIME, COUNT EACH PART TIME MONTH AS 1/2 MONTH, BUT ROUND TOTAL OFF TO NEAREST MONTH EG. WORKED 20 MONTHS AT A FULL TIME JOB AND 15 MONTHS AT A PART-TIME JOB, THIS COUNTS AS 20 + 15/2 = 20 + 7.5, ROUNDED OFF = 28)

_____ MONTHS

71 72

131. Last week, did you do any work at a job or business? (paid work, or unpaid work helping a family business)

Yes .....1 (SKIP TO Q. 133)

No 2

73

132. What is the reason you did not work (CIRCLE ONLY ONE)

Had a job or business to go to but did not go because of illness, injury, maternity leave, family duties, bad weather, strike or vacation 1

Will be starting a new job within 4 weeks .....2 (SKIP TO Q. 143)
Temporarily laid off .....3 (SKIP TO Q. 143)
Unemployed and actively looking for work .....4 (SKIP TO Q. 143)

Student .....5 (SKIP TO Q. 157)
Housekeeper .....6 (SKIP TO Q. 157)
Retired .....7 (SKIP TO Q. 157)
Unemployed and not actively seeking work .....8 (SKIP TO Q. 157)

74

133. How many hours per week do you usually work at your job now?

_____

75 76

134. How long were you unemployed and seeking work before you got this job?

_____ weeks

77 78

4

8

135. What kind of job do you have now? (AT FULL TIME IF ALSO HAS PART TIME JOB) Please tell me the title of the job and describe the type of work you do. (IF PRESENT JOB IS BEST JOB, WRITE "SEE Q. 128")

Title: _____

Description: _____

_____

_____

(CODE FROM CCDO) 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

136. Within which of the following monthly pay levels do you now fall ("gross" salary before deductions)?

$500 or less 1
$501 to $1,000 2
$1,001 to $1,500 3
$1,501 to $2,000 4
$2,001 to $2,500 5
$2,501 to $3,000 6
over $3,000 7
Don't know 8

16

137. How would you rate your present job in terms of the pay?

Very good 4
Good 3
Okay 2
Not so good 1

17

138. How would you rate your present job in terms of security (getting fired or laid off)?

Almost no chance of losing job 4
Little chance of losing job 3
Some chance of losing job 2
Afraid of losing job in near future 1

18

139. How would you rate your present job in terms of opportunity to use any job skills or training you may have learned in Vietnam?

Did not learn any job skills in Vietnam 0
Very good 4
Good 3
Okay 2
Not so good 1

19

140. How would you rate your present job in terms of whether the job helps you learn the English language and Canadian customs?

Very good 4
Good 3
Okay 2
Not so good 1

20

141. Considering all the above, how satisfied are you with your present job?

Very satisfied 5
Somewhat satisfied 4
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied 3

Somewhat dissatisfied 2
Very dissatisfied 1

21

142. Compared to the kind of job you expected to have in Canada, how would you rate your present job?

Can't say, had no idea about jobs in Canada 0
Much better than I expected 5
Somewhat better than expected 4
About what I expected 3
Somewhat worse than I expected 2
Much worse than I expected 1

22

143. In the course of obtaining or looking for work in Alberta, which was the main or worst problem you had? (Applies to most recent job or most recent job search if more than one job or search period) DO NOT READ LIST - LET R TELL YOU, THEN CIRCLE ONLY ONE ON LIST.

Not applicable, never looked 1
No problem, got job easy 2
No or few jobs of any kind available 3
Lack of credentials (have no documents or training not recognized in Alberta) 4
Poor knowledge of English 5
Lack of work experience in Canada 6
Lack of education 7
Lack of training 8
Unable to find the kind of work I am trained for or used to doing 9
Employers' unwillingness to hire someone from another country 10

Poor health or physical handicap 11
Did not know how to apply for a job that was advertised 12
Other 13

23 24

144. In the course of obtaining or looking for work in Alberta which was the next most important problem you had? (Applies to most recent job or most recent job search if more than one job or search period) DO NOT READ LIST. LET R TELL YOU, THEN CIRCLE ONLY ONE ON LIST.

Not applicable, never looked 1
No problem, got job easy 2
No or few jobs of any kind available 3
Lack of credentials (have no documents or training not recognized in Alberta) 4
Poor knowledge of English 5
Lack of work experience in Canada 6
Lack of education 7
Lack of training 8
Unable to find the kind of work I am trained for or used to doing 9
Employers' unwillingness to hire someone from another country 10
Poor health or physical handicap 11
Did not know how to apply for a job that was advertised 12
Other 13

25 26

145. How often do you look for work? (LET R TELL YOU, THEN CIRCLE. DO NOT READ CATEGORIES).

Never, is employed 0
Daily 1
Once a week 3

2 to 4 times per week 2
Once every few weeks 4
Once every few months 5
Less than every few months 6

27

ASK ONLY IF EMPLOYED. IF UNEMPLOYED, SKIP TO Q. 149

146. Is your total income not enough for you to survive or support your family; or just enough, or can you save some money each month?

Not enough to survive 1
Just enough .....2 (SKIP TO Q. 149)
Can save some money .....3 (SKIP TO Q. 149)

28

IF NOT ENOUGH

147. Are you getting any extra money to help you?

Yes 1
No .....2 (Skip to Q. 149)

29

IF YES,

148. What is the main source of this extra money (other than spouse's income, if any)?

Lucky ways 02
Gifts or loan of money from relatives
or friends 03
Gifts or loan of money from sponsor 04

Unemployment Insurance 05
Adjustment Assistance (Canada Employment and Immigration) 06
Social Assistance 07
Church, religious charity or other charity 08
Sold personal belongings 09
Loan from bank, government or other private financial institution 10
Investments, interests, or dividends 11
Training allowance 12
Savings 13
Other 14

30 31

In the past four weeks, what have you done to find work?
(IF PERSON IS EMPLOYED AND NOT LOOKING FOR ANOTHER JOB, SKIP TO Q. 157)

149. Checked with Canada Employment Agency?

No 0
Yes 1

32

150. Checked with a Union?

No 0
Yes 1

33

151. Checked directly with employees?

No ... 0
Yes .. 1

34

152. Checked with friends or relatives?

No ... 0
Yes .. 1

35

153. Got friends or relatives to phone, go to interview, read newspapers, etc.?

No ... 0
Yes .. 1

36

154. Checked with a Chinese, Vietnamese, refugee or religious association?

No ... 0
Yes .. 1

37

155. Read job advertisments in newspaper?

No ... 0
Yes .. 1

38

156. Responded to job advertisement(s) in newspaper.

No ... 0
Yes .. 1

39

ASK EVERYONE

157. How did you support yourself last month? That is, what was the main source of money?

Job earnings 01
Lucky ways 02
Gifts or loan of money from relatives or friends, or rely on spouse 03
Gifts or loan of money from sponsor. 04
Unemployment insurance 05
Adjustment Assistance (CEIC) 06
Social assistance (Alta. welfare) .. 07
Church, religious charity or other charity 08
Sold personal belongings 09
Loan from bank, government or other private financial institution 10
Investments, interest or dividends . 11
Training allowance 12
Savings from previous job 13
Other source 14

40 41

ASK Q. 158 ONLY IF PERSON IS MARRIED AND HAS SPOUSE LIVING WITH THEM.

158. Do you rely to a large extent on your spouse's income to help you?

Yes 1
No 2

42

159. Compared to Viet Nam, do you feel you have gained or lost some social respect in Canada?

Gained 3
Lost 1
Stayed about the same ... 0

43

160. About how much money do you spend each month in sending packages to relatives in Viet Nam? (Please do not consider money from other members of the household)

$ _____

44 45 46

161. Does anyone who lives here own this place? (If no, verify that the dwelling is rented.)

No 1
Yes 2

47

142. How much do you pay each month for rent or mortgage? Please do not consider contributions from other members of this household. $ _____

48 49 50

163. How much do you pay each month for food supplies? Please do not consider contributions from other members of this household. $ _____

51 52 53

164. Do you own any of the following? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Dish washing machine	1
Car or truck worth over $1,000	1
Stereo worth over $1,000	1
Color television	1
Video or camera equipment (other than cheap camera)	1
Motor or sail boat	1
Clothes washing machine	1
Clothes drying machine	1
Food freezer	1

TOTAL: ___

54

165. When you came to Canada, who sponsored you?

Canadian government	1
Church or ethnic agency or association	2
Canadian family	3
Your family or realtives	4

55

166. Including your spouse (if any), how many adult relatives (aged 18 or more) came to Canada with you, or arrived within a week of you?

_____ 56 57

167. How many relatives are you or your family saving money to bring over here, or actively trying to get the government or an agency to bring to Canada? (IF NO RELATIVES CODE 99; IF NOT TRYING TO BRING OVER CODE 00.)

58 59

168. How many relatives have you or your family brought over to Canada by sponsoring them under the family reunification plan or by persuading a church or ethnic agency to sponsor them?
(IF R WAS HIM/HERSELF SPONSORED BY THIS HOUSEHOLD, INCLUDE HIM/HER.)

60 61

169. How satisfied are you with the adult education or job training available in your city/town/village?

Very satisfied 4
Somewhat satisfied 3
Somewhat dissatisfied ... 2
Very dissatisfied 1
Don't know 0

62

170. How happy are you with your present situation here in Alberta?

Very happy 5
Happy 4
Neither happy nor unhappy 3
Unhappy 2
Very unhappy 1

63

171. Compared to what you expected, how is life here in Canada? (The people, the weather, the jobs, the cost of living, everything you can think of)

Better than expected 3
About the same as expected 2
Worse than expected 1
Can't say, because had no expectations .. 0

64

172. Do you find that most of the Canadians you meet are:

Very friendly 1
A little unfriendly 2
Neither unfriendly nor friendly 3
A little friendly 4
Very friendly 5

65

173. In Alberta, do you feel accepted or welcome by Albertans, or do you feel you are not treated with as much respect or friendliness as is given to other Albertans?

COMMENTS (Probe for incidents of prejudice or discrimination)

_____
_____
_____
_____

174. If the Communists left Viet Nam and a free society was established, would you then:

Go back only to visit 2
Go back to live 1
Not go back at all 3

66

175. Which church do you attend regularly, if any?

None 0
Roman Catholic 1
Chinese Catholic 2
Vietnamese Catholic 3
Anglican 4
Other Canadian Protestant .. 5
Vietnamese Protestant 6
Chinese Protestant 7
Mennonite 8
Mormon 9
Bhuddist 10
Other 11

67 68

176. What objectives or goals do you have for yourself in the near future? That is, what do you hope to achieve?

_____
_____
_____
_____

69 70

177. What long-tern objectives or goals do you have for yourelf or your family? That is, what kind of aituation do you hope to be in several years from now?

_____
_____
_____
_____

71 72

Now we would like to know if you have had any medical complaints, and how your health has been in general, over the past few weeks. Please answer ALL the questions on the following pages simply by circling the answer which you think most nearly applies to you. Remember that we want to know about present and recent complaints. not those you had in the past.

It is important that you answer all the questions. Please ask the interviewer if you have trouble reading or understanding any of these questions.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

178. Have you recently been feeling perfectly well and in good health?

Better than usual
Worse than usual
Same as usual
Much worse than usual

73

179. Have you recently been feeling in need of some medicine to restore your energy?

Not at all
Rather more than usual
Not more than usual
Much more than usual

74

180. Have you recently been feeling tired and not quite right?

Not at all
Rather more than usual
Not more than usual
Much more than usual

75

181. Have your recently felt that you are ill?

Not at all
Rather more than usual
Not more than usual
Much more than usual

76

182. Have you recently been getting any pains in your head (headaches?)

Not at all — Rather more than usual

Not more than usual — Much more than usual

77

183. Have your recently been getting a feeling of tightness or pressure in your head?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

Not more than usual — Much more than usual

78

184. Have your recently been having hot or cold spells?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

Not more than usual — Much more than usual

79

185. Have you recently lost much sleep over worry?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

Not more than usual — Much more than usual

80

5/8

186. Have you recently had difficulty in staying asleep?

Not at all
Not more than usual
Rather more than usual
Much more than usual

9

187. Have you recently felt constantly under strain?

Not at all
Not more than usual
Rather more than usual
Much more than usual

10

188. Have you recently been getting angry and bad-tempered?

Not at all
Not more than usual
Rather more than usual
Much more than usual

11

189. Have you recently been getting scared or panicky for no good reason?

Not at all
Not more than usual
Rather more than usual
Much more than usual

12

190. Have you recently found you had too much to do?

Not at all
Not more than usual
Rather more than usual
Much more than usual

13

191. Have you recently been feeling nervous and uptight all the time?

Not at all
Not more than usual
Rather more than usual
Much more than usual

14

192. Have you recently been managing to keep yourself busy and occupied all the time?

Not at all
Same as usual
Rather less than usual
Much less than usual

15

193. Have you recently been taking longer to do things?

Not at all
Same as usual
Rather less than usual
Much less than usual

16

194. Have you recently felt on the whole you were doing things well?

Better than usual	Less well than usual
About the same	Much less well

17

195. Have you recently been satisfied with the way you've carried out your task or job?

More satisfied	Less satisfied than usual
About same as usual	Much less satisfied

18

196. Have you recently felt you are playing a useful part in life?

More so than usual	Less so than usual
Same as usual	Much less useful

19

197. Have you recently felt capable of making decisions about things?

More so than usual	Less so than usual
Same as usual	Much less capable

20

198. Have you recently been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

More so than usual
Less so than usual
Same as usual
Much less useful

21

199. Have you recently been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

Not at all
Rather more than usual
No more than usual
Much more than usual

22

200. Have you recently felt that life is entirely hopeless?

Not at all
Rather more than usual
No more than usual
Much more than usual

23

201. Have you recently felt life isn't worth living?

Not at all
Rather more than usual
No more than usual
Much more than usual

24

202. Have you recently thought of the possibility that you might kill yourself?

Definitely not — Has crossed my mind

I don't think so — Definitely have

25

203. Have you recently found at times you couldn't do anything because your nerves were too bad?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

26

204. Have you recently found yourself wishing you were dead and away from everything?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

27

205. Have you recently found that the idea of taking you own life kept coming into your mind?

Definitely not — Has crossed my mind

I don't think so — Definitely has

28

206. Do you feel you are having trouble working efficiently (at home or at work)?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

29

207. Do you worry that anything bad may happen to your family?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

30

208. Do you feel that you don't care about other people as much as you usually do?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

31

209. Do you feel afraid of strangers?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

32

210. Do you have trouble concentrating or thinking clearly?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

33

211. Do you get sick more than you used to?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

34

212. Have you had more accidents (at work, home or in the car) than usual?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

35

213. Have you recently been feeling dizzy?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

36

214. Have you been feeling homesick (thinking a lot about Viet Nam?)

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

37

215. Have you been feeling lonely, wishing you were with friends or relatives more often?

Not at all — Rather more than usual

No more than usual — Much more than usual

38

FOR WIVES ONLY:

Now we would like to know if there are any problems in your family life, because it seems some Vietnamese families are having trouble because of the difficulty in adjusting to their new kind of life. Please circle you answers to the following questions.

216. Have you ever felt like leaving your husband for a short time to make him understand your concern about your family situation?

Never Perhaps Yes

39

217. Have you been afraid that your husband might hit you?

Not at all Perhaps a little Yes

40

218. Do you think your husband is spending too much time gambling or drinking alcohol?

Not at all Perhaps a little Yes

41

219. Do you think your husband is spending too much time with his friends, away from home?

Not at all Perhaps a little Yes

42

220. Do you know the reasons why some Vietnamese husbands spend too little time at home with their families?

_____ _____

_____

_____

_____

221. Do you feel that you are so busy with a job and/or housework that you don't have any leisure time or rarely get out to meet people?

No, or rarely 3

Sometimes true 2

Yes, often or always true 1

43

222. Are you aware of any agencies which offer services pertaining to family problems, suicide, mental health, etc.?

No ..... 1 (SKIP TO Q. 229)

Yes 2

44

223. Do you know exactly where the agency is or how to contact it?

No 1

Yes 2

45

FOR HUSBANDS ONLY:

Now we would like to know if there are any problems in your family life, because it seems some Vietnamese families are having trouble because of the difficulty in adjusting to their new kind of life. Please circle your answer to the following questions.

224. Do you think that in the near future you might drink too much alcohol or fight someone?

Not at all Perhaps a little Yes

46

225. Do you worry about not having enough money to provide for your family here in Canada?

Not at all Perhaps a little Yes

47

226. Do you worry about not having enough money to sponsor or send money to relatives in Viet Nam or in a refugee camp?

Not at all Perhaps a little Yes

48

227. Are you aware of any agencies which offer services pertaining to family problems, suicide, mental health, etc.?

No ..... 1 (SKIP TO Q. 229)

Yes 2

49

228. Do you know exactly where the agency is or how to contact it?

No 1

Yes 2

50

Now we are almost finished. I would like to take just 5 more minutes to give you an English test. I would like you to answer a few questions about these pictures, using English.(0 = Doesn't understand question; 1 = Understands question but can't answer at all in English; 2 = Understands Q. and can answer poorly in English; 3 = Understands and can answer okay in English)

Picture #1

229. What is Joe doing?	0	1	2	3	___ 51
230. What is on the table?	0	1	2	3	___ 52

Picture #2

231. What is Joe doing?	0	1	2	3	___ 53
232. What is Joe carrying?	0	1	2	3	___ 54
233. What is the bus driver doing?	0	1	2	3	___ 55

Picture #3

234. What is going on?	0	1	2	3	___ 56
235. How many male students are there and how many female?	0	1	2	3	___ 57
236. What time is it in the picture?	0	1	2	3	___ 58
237. Where is Joe sitting?	0	1	2	3	___ 59

Picture #4

238. What is going on?	0	1	2	3	___ 60
239. What is the area in the lower right corner for?	0	1	2	3	___ 61

Picture #5

240. What is Joe doing?	0	1	2	3	___ 62
241. What is behind Joe's chair?	0	1	2	3	___ 63
242. Please describe the room.	0	1	2	3	___ 64

Picture #6

243. What is Joe doing?	0	1	2	3	___ 65

Now, still in English, please tell me how life here is different from life in Viet Nam. For example, you could tell me about the employment or food or transportation or recreation or health care system or educational system or political system or shopping ... Please choose 1 or 2 subjects which you feel would be easiest to talk about in English.

244. Fluency

Smooth, no interruption nor hesitation 14
A little awkward, some hesitation 10
Awkward, slow 06
Extremely bad, long pauses, can't finish story.. 02

66 67

245. Structure

Perfect 14
A few errors in syntax or tense 10
Several errors in syntax or tense 07
Extremely bad syntax or tense
(even if good vocabulary) 04

68 69

46. Vocabulary

Uses many different words 6
Uses a few more words than minimum needed to tell the story 5
Uses the minimum number of words needed to tell the story 3
Does not know all of the words needed to tell the story 2

70

247. Pronunciation

Perfect English 6
Easily understandable, a few deviations 5
Understandable with some difficulty (several words mispronounced) 3
Very difficult to understand, or incomporehensible . 2

71

248. Comprehension

Makes perfect sense 6
Makes sense mostly 5
Makes some sense 3
Makes little or no sense 2

72

249. Correct use of vocabulary

Correct 6
Few errors .. 4
Many errors . 2

73

250. LGTHRES 74 75

251. WHYMOVE1 76

252. WHYMOVED 77

253. DISCRIM 78

254. WHYPROB 79